

W17 YOUNG SOCIALISTS/LIGUE DES JEUNES SOCIALISTES – 1960-1972

** listed for information only – in archives*

***dates to be verified or LOST files*

1960

1960-11Nov-1 **Canadian Youth Bulletin** (undated, No.1) found in 1960

1960-12Dec-1 **CYB** (undated, No.2) Schools ban CSND (for nuclear disarmament)

1961

1961-02Feb10 All-Youth Rally against nuclear weapons in Canada (YCND & CSND)

1961-02Feb17 YCND-CSND Conference call

1961-04Apr5 Mass Anti-Nuclear Arms – Picket Liberal Party Rally, MLeaf Gardens

1961-04Apr5 Defenbaker's decoys (nuclear warheads for Bomarcs)

1961-06Jun00 Flyer- Want a job this summer? Free education at all levels

1962

1962-04Apr-1a Newsletter: ***The New Democratic Youth Forward!***

1962-05May00 Tasks & Perspectives of the Vancouver YSA

1962-06Jun00 Boycott Woolworth's! Don't buy segregation! Join picket line!

1963

1963-05May2 Hear the case for the Defence of the 10 expelled from the Party

1964

1964-02Feb-24 (*Globe clip*) NDP Council confirms expulsion of 10 young radicals

1964-04Apr17 Stop the Witch Hunt now!! More expulsions (from the adult party)

1964-05May00 *Young Socialist Forum* – Strike at U. Of M(ontreal) for student reps

1964-08Aug7 For immediate release: 4 young women call for anti-war picket

1964-99a Jean Rands for Mayor (Vancouver) sponsored by YS/LSA

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|----------------|--|
| 1964-99b | Oppose the Vietnam war, Fight anti-labor injunctions |
| 1964-99c | For public housing; A socialist civic government |
| 1965 | |
| 1965-05May | NDP on Vietnam: Elect an NDP government, End the war |
| *1965-06June-1 | <i>(Lost document) Debate in the NDY; LC convention call</i> |
| *1965-06June-1 | <i>Introducing the Young Socialists; Women's liberation demo</i> |
| *1965-06June-1 | <i>For a democratic university in a socialist society</i> |
| *1965-06June-1 | <i>Socialist pamphlets; Join the YS; subscribe</i> |
| 1965-08Aug15 | Young Socialist Forum: fund raising letter: 4th year publication |
| 1965-12Dec13 | YS circular: Student Assembly, Christmas Party, Free Speech Rally |
| 1966 | |
| 1966-09Sept1 | Young Socialist Forum: Letter re fund raising 5th year journal |
| 1966-11Nov24 | YS flyer: Give students a voice! John Riddell Board of Education |
| 1966-98 | <i>(page 5 only, undated) Draft Press Resolution (YS-NEC)</i> |
| 1966-99a | Educational series: Questions – The Origins of Materialism |
| 1966-99b | Materialism vs. Idealism |
| 1966-99d | What is historical materialism |
| 1967 | |
| *1967-05May | <i>(missing page) p. 24: Join YSF in the struggle for a better world</i> |
| *1967-May | <i>Pamphlet: 'Stop expulsions in the N.D.P.!'</i> |
| 1967-10Oct28a | Harbord NDP club: on the danger of nuclear war |
| 1967-10Oct28b | (News) Vol. 1 #1 "Interested in the club or the NDP?" |
| 1967-11Nov2 | Toronto City Letter re YS events and meetings Calendar |

1968

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|---------------|--|
| 1968-04Apr-1 | Pamphlet: Education & Women's Liberation |
| 1968-04Apr-2a | Flyers: Ottawa, April 6: challenge the new PM on Vietnam |
| 1968-04Apr-2b | End Canada's complicity – Withdraw U.S. troops |
| 1968-04Apr-2c | Easter March for Peace April 6: VMC, Toronto City Hall |
| 1968-04Apr3 | Toronto Local Letter re mobilization for 6th lit sales & marshalls |
| 1968-06June14 | Toronto Local Letter re schedule & pre-convention discussion |
| 1968-07July00 | St.Catherines(ON) news clip: Socialists speak their minds, but'' |
| 1968-09Sept-1 | <i>Social action:</i> Brief on student labour relations, by Ken Stone |
| 1968-10Oct-1 | Flyer: March Oct. 26 against the war in Vietnam |
| 1968-10Oct-2 | Flyers: ''We are not guilty!'' Statement of 114 arrested—SFU(BC) |
| 1968-10Oct-2 | Article from <i>The Peak</i> on the upcoming trial of the 114 |
| 1968-11Nov17 | Press Release re: Solidarity with Czech student occupations |
| 1968-99 | Undated: RD notation ''CEC Statement'' Tasks of YS-LJS |

1969

| | |
|----------------|--|
| 1969-01Jan99a | Freedom for Sir George Williams Students – Rally (re: Apr. 1968) |
| 1969-01Jan99b | Cttee to Aid SGW Students – fact sheet, demands for release |
| 1969-08Aug | (undated) Flyer: Vietnam Peace Festival; VMC, City Hall Square |
| 1969-08Aug15a | (undated) Campus Report: YS Local Conference (Saskatoon) |
| 1969-09Sept-1a | (undated) Flyer: Vote Socialist (Kopyto, Kirzner for SAC) |
| 1969-09Sept-1b | (undated) For a Socialist Student Government (slate) |
| 1969-11Nov16 | ''Open letter to NDP Executive'' (Sask.NDY) NDP cuts funding |
| 1969-11Nov19 | We Appeal to the Delegates: The expelled and the Labour Party |

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 1969-11Nov19 | “Following is “evidence” which Clifton sent to Provincial Council” |
| 1969-96 | <i>(undated)</i> Flyer: youth demand u.s. withdrawal (Vietnam War) |
| 1969-97 | <i>(undated)</i> Flyer: (First) Socialist Student Conference, U. of T. |
| 1969-98a | <i>(undated)</i> Flyer: Join YS at Montreal convention, hear Tariq Ali |
| 1969-98b | <i>(undated)</i> Flyer: Hear Tariq Ali: the European student revolt |
| 1969-99 | Flyer: Hear Raymond Lemieux, francophone charged with sedition |
| 1970 | |
| 1970-06June00 | Letter from YS Treasurer: Financial Report; Pay your dues! |
| 1970-08Aug26 | Toronto Star article photo: YS leader speaking at City Hall |
| 1970-09Sept-1 | Brochure: YS Program for Student Action for a new society |
| 1970-99 | (Undated) Brief to Comm. On Post-Secondary Education (Ont.) |
| 1971 | |
| 1971-00-1 | <i>The YS-L J S Recruiter</i> , Vol. 1 No. 1: |
| 1971-00-2a | Brochure: NDP to power Oct. 30! Join the campaign, Join the YS |
| 1971-00-2b | With the NDP – towards a new society |
| 1971-02Feb23 | Women’s Liberation Circular, signed Jacquie H. LJS-YS |
| 1971-03Mar25a | Open Letter to the Czech Soviet Socialist Republic |
| 1971-03Mar25b | Free the Prague 19! Socialism Yes! Bureaucracy No! |
| 1971-03Mar25c | YS-LJS Press release: Czech embassy calls cops on YSers |
| 1971-04Apr-1 | To all Comrades at K-W-G Branch--Organizer's Report |
| 1971-05May8a | Control of Our Bodies! Control of our Lives! Birth Control |
| 1971-05May8b | Cartoon: Campaign for Birth Control in the High Schools |
| 1971-05May9 | Flyer: Protest Cambodian Invasion; 4 Murders in Ohio |

1971-05May12-1 To all locals & members-at-large: From Zane Boyd

1971-05May12-2 The Student Movement by Al C. and Joe Y.

1971-05May12-3 Press Report for the Editorial Board, by Ian A.

1971-06Jun24 YS/LSJS to all Branches re: planning for Waterloo Conference

1971-08Aug-1 (cover) Manual: **Organizing the YS-L J S** (page 2 inside missing)

1971-09Sept18a Letter to YS supporters, re: sending materials to Young Socialist

1971-09Sept18b Preparing articles for YS; Sources of material

1971-11Nov11 (undated) Student Days of Protest: End Canadian complicity1971

1971-99-1 (RD-dated year) Doc "Dennis (L.) (YS) Away from Mass Action"

1972

1972-02Feb2 Flyer: The YS campaign -Abie Weisfeld (York U. student council)

1972-02Feb21 Letter to all locals: High School abortion work

1972-03Mar00-1 Report of the Fed. of Students (U.of Waterloo) (US in Vietnam)

1972-03Mar01a YS action proposal -- stop cutbacks in education

1972-03Mar01b Stop the cutbacks! Tax big business!

1972-10Oct27 For a labor City Hall--Nomination rally for a socialist slate

1972-10Oct99a YS Flyer: NDP to power Oct. 30!

1972-10Oct99b With the NDP--towards a new society

1972-11Nov00 (undated) Rally & March Support Nov. 14 Vietnam Moratorium

*1972-11Nov-lc68-3 *Socialists in municipal elections –Socialists fight City Hall*

*1972-11Nov-lc68-4 *Vote Socialist, Jacquie Henderson for mayor flyer*

*1972-11Nov-lc68-4^e *Jacquie Henderson for mayor; Schools to serve majority*

*1972-11Nov-lc68-5 *Socialist in Ottawa mayoralty race*

**1972-11Nov-lc68-6 Edit.—Opportunities for NDP —Toronto civic election*

**1972-11Nov-lc68-7 Quebec students fight government repression*

**1972-11Nov-lc68-8 Interview with Greek Trotskyist, escaped from jail*

1972-11Nov-01 Let Henderson speak -- No democracy at *Star* Forum

1972-11Nov11a Toronto Socialist Election Campaign (LSA & YS) (Socialist slate)

1972-11Nov11b Fund appeal for the Socialist Campaign

1972-12Dec20 Letter to M.T. -Reply to proposal postpone YS/LJS convention

1972-98 Ryerson Eyeopener: "Jacquie Henderson --woman for labor"

1972-99a (undated, found in 1972) p.1- The Wright Report and You

1972-99e (enclosure) It's only the beginning...

1972-99g (enclosure) Hear Tony Thomas "Black Liberation Struggle"

CUCND Leads Student Action

Canadian Youth BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE IN CANADA

On campuses across Canada and the United States, there is an awakening of students to the problems surrounding them. In the States, it has taken the form of protest against ROTC (officer training) and refusals on the part of youth to take cover in air-raid drills. Canadian students

have been forming anti-war bodies called Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on many campuses across Canada. (On the high school level, Canadian Schools for Nuclear Disarmament.)

The rising consciousness against the whole arms drive is manifested in the CUCND. The student protest in North America is part of a world protest movement across the globe.

World Youth In Revolt

The supporters of the status quo have had a rude awakening by the upheavals in Japan, Cuba, Turkey and South Korea. The youth played a leading role both in protesting the subservience of their governments to US imperialism, and in struggling for national liberation. The liberation of Cuba is an inspiring example.

It is one thing for an observer to view these revolts from afar, but it is another matter to be faced with a native movement on one's own soil. Is there such a native movement growing in Canada?

There is a protest movement gathering force in Canada. The youth, shocked by the policies of the Diefenbaker government and its total subservience to US policies, are protesting the Tory's fatal course. Why has the present government aligned itself so completely with the US both in the UN and in the sphere of Canadian domestic policy? An
(Continued on next page)

"Bulletin" Supplements "Young Socialist"

This is the first issue of the Canadian Youth Bulletin. It is designed to complement N. America's only socialist youth paper, the popular YOUNG SOCIALIST. The YSA is an independent Marxist youth organization which has branches in a score of US cities, and in Toronto and Vancouver in Canada.

The Bulletin is being launched by the YSA in Toronto in order to provide a sharper focus on the Canadian scene -- particularly growing political action on Canadian campuses, and the emerging New Party youth. The Bulletin will also serve to introduce the YOUNG SOCIALIST to many active and interested students and young workers. We urge our readers to subscribe to the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which not only has a comprehensive news coverage, but also provides a penetrating analysis of events. It is an exciting paper in a time of a current of change among students and youth in our country -- a must for everyone who concerns himself with world affairs. (See sub blank on back page.)

The Bulletin will be included as a bonus to all Canadian subscribers. The Editors hope that it will be enjoyed and appreciated, and invite your comment.



COMBINED UNIVERSITIES CAMPAIGN for NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Presents:

"Song Of Survival"

WITH "THE TRAVELLERS" AND OTHERS

Friday Nov. 11, 8:30

Massey Hall

(continued from page 1)

answer to this question is found largely in the mutual ties and interlocking interests of Canadian and US capital. Flowing from this, the Canadian foreign policy is in reality the direct expression of dominant US interests.

This same pattern holds with the Organization of American states. Because of the heavy dependence of Latin and South American countries on trade with the US, the OAS can act as a stranglehold regulator of political alignments. It can marshal support for the State Department line in the UN, in turn for what is discretely called "foreign aid".

In life what we see is a conflict taking place between the imperialist countries and the colonial areas--in essence a class conflict. What the leaders of the CUCND movement must show is the class character of the war drive. Who controls the pace and nature of the armament drive in the west? The answer can be found in the correlation of big business with the military in imperialism. The New York Times has described the Eisenhower cabinet as "no longer big business in politics, but big, big business".

Clausewitz (a Prussian military theoretician) once said that "war is an extension of politics by other means". The war drive is the extension of politics by other means in the interest of a ruling class, which is vigorous in the maintenance of areas of investment and markets. The expression of maintaining these spheres of influence is reflected in Diefenbaker's foreign policy.

Another factor is that the American economy depends on its perpetual war expenditures to the tune of \$40 billion. A slight whisper of peace will send the US stock market down. This fantastic expenditure has become part of the American Way of Life. Canada is a junior partner in this accelerated war expenditure through membership in war alliance and awards of some of the cream of US military sub-contracts.

The Problem of Leadership

To those organizing the campus anti-war movement lies the responsibility of giving correct political leadership. That means attacking the suicidal course of the Tories and Liberals, who are co-operating with the US in the armaments drive.

At present, the leadership of the CUCND has not adopted such a political concept. They have temporarily withdrawn from challenging the cold war parties. The struggle for peace and disarmament is not above class differences and political issues.

In its demonstrations against the psychological preparation for war by the Tories in their promotion of Bomb Shelters in Toronto and Vancouver, the Young Socialist Alliance presented political demands.

One of the demands raised by the Y.S.A. was for a referendum on war or peace. The slogan was "Let The People Vote on Nuclear Arms". This, we pointed out, was a demand which showed that while the people had the right to vote on matters of some importance, they are denied the vote on the most important matter, whether they are to live or die. The significance of this demand is by its very nature not just a "No Confidence" vote in

(Continued on Page 4)

Ontario CCF Youth Re-constituted

On the weekend of October 29 thirty five participants representing four university CCF clubs and several riding organizations, gathered at Woodsworth House to take part in the re-constitution of the Ontario Young CCF. In the adoption discussion of resolutions on foreign affairs and economic policy, the delegates took an unsteady step towards the reestablishment of socialist principles and the building of a socialist youth movement in the New Party.

In the resolution on foreign policy, the CCF youth urged that Canada break with American imperialism. The NATO and NORAD agreements were repudiated by large majorities, and the convention took a firm stand against any foreign military bases in Canada. All this was an impressive step in the direction of unilateral disarmament. But the Young CCF did not draw this conclusion, and reverted to a demand for multi-lateral disarmament under the aegis of the United Nations.

The stand of the convention on the United Nations was equivocal. The majority of the delegates at the convention still believed in a U.N. Emergency Force as the road to world peace. Nonetheless, the delegates recognized the imperialist nature of the UN police action in the Congo and Lebanon, and defeated a motion to give unconditional support to a permanent UN police force.

The convention urged that Canada recognize the Peoples Republic of China. The proposal that Canada join that club of puppet-dictators, the Organization of American States, was roundly defeated. One speaker drew attention to the stand of the OAS in regard to Cuba, on which there was unfortunately no discussion.

In a debate on economic policy remarkably similar to that being held in the British Labor Party, the convention reaffirmed its belief in nationalization as a means of achieving a socialist society. The division between the left and right wings of the convention was very marked in this debate. Some delegates even opposed the statement of principles printed on the CCF party card as being too radical. (One delegate, seeing the phrase "work for a democratic socialist society", shivered and suggested that the word 'socialist' be deleted.) Finally, the convention approved a motion that the CCF work towards "nationalization of basic industries and transportation as a means of establishing a socialist society." Victory for Clause Four!

The convention adopted the draft constitution for the organization without any major changes. During its adoption a vigorous debate was held on the relationship of the youth group to the adult CCF. While many delegates spoke in favor of complete autonomy for the youth group, limited only by the stated aims of the CCF, others held that the adult CCF should have the right to interfere in youth activities if the youth group should "get out on a limb", that is, if it should become too radical. In the discussion of a clause in the constitution giving the adult organization control over amendment of the constitution, the delegates were quite frankly told that if this clause were not accepted, the adult CCF would probably reject the constitution, preferring to destroy the youth organization entirely rather than give it autonomy. This clause was reluctantly accepted.

Several important considerations will decide if the organization founded is to develop into a strong socialist youth organization. The resolutions adopted at the convention frequently took positions far more progressive than those of the adult CCF. It is to be hoped that this tendency will be continued, so that the CCF may offer a program more challenging and exciting to Ontario youth, a program more in keeping with the spirit

(Continued on Page 5)

the government, but it also takes the power of life and death out of the hands of the military and the economic-political power elite. At least, the Canadian people would be given the right to discuss the matter.

The demand "Take the Profits Out of the Arms Industry" and "Nationalize The Arms Industry" exposes the fact that millions are made in war and defence, and that munition makers' patriotism only goes to the extent of what profits can be made. Also, this demand shows that continued armament and war itself is vital to a segment of the capitalist class which has a vested interest in the cold war.

The question of "Unilateral Disarmament" is a must in the light of the sabre-rattling of Kennedy and Nixon. The former puts forward the idea of a 24-hour air vigilance force, capable of a nuclear strike at a moment's notice. In contrast with Krushchov's plans for atomic-free zones, disarmament now, etc., the western bloc is working for an intensification of the cold war. The student movement must demand that Canada disarm unilaterally despite the major powers. Such a move would set back the war danger stemming from the Pentagon. "Controlled" or "multi-lateral disarmament" is totally inadequate. While the Y.S.A. is not opposed to summits, negotiations, etc., we place very little confidence in the ability of U-2 minded statesmen such as Eisenhower & Co. to make any progress. Unilateral disarmament is an issue that allows the people to intervene in the struggle for peace, forcing the rulers to negotiate.

A stand against NATO and all war alliances means breaking with the Belgians, (who are responsible for aggression in the Congo), France, (responsible for the seven year war in Algeria), and Britain (which has its hands full in Africa). To break with NATO means the recognition of the rights of these colonial people to self-determination and real freedom. Also, the concept of NATO as a military safeguard has been long shattered by the realization that there is no real defence against all-out H-Bomb war. There is talk in certain Pentagon circles about "pre-emptive" war. This idea was also put forward by the Gaither Committee (composed of businessmen and military figures) a few years back. Canada's break with NATO would seriously weaken this US war alliance which entertains "pre-emptive" measures.

Build the New Labor Party

The Liberals and Tories have demonstrated that they are not interested in any fundamental foreign policy change in the direction of peace. Then what political party is? Will a Labor-Farmer government commit itself to a policy of disarmament? The CCF rank and file has taken a stand for a break with NATO (at its last National Convention in Regina). It is certainly an indication that this party (which will merge with labor to become the New Party in 1961) may eventually become a real alternative to the two major cold war parties in Canada. In Britain the trade unions have come out vigorously for unilateral action, in protest against American missile bases on British soil. The CUCND must support the New Party. It must fight for the adoption of its demands as policy in the New Party. It can certainly, in any case, attempt to move a decisive sector, the working class, in sympathy with the CUCND action for peace.

The CUCND and high school CSND can be an important factor in the growth of student political action. The 1960's hold a great promise for the youth to participate fully in the struggle for a permanent peace.

Certainly no one can say today that the youth are indifferent to the major social questions of our time.

--the Editors

YSA To Back Civic Schools Candidate

The Young Socialist Alliance has decided to give enthusiastic support to a candidate for Board of Education in Toronto in order to champion the student's interests and give them representation in their affairs.

John Darling, one of the four on the YSA Tour this summer across Western campuses, and Editor of the Bulletin, is running on a platform of: 1) ending the high school "Cadets", 2) replacement of misleading school textbooks, and 3) a policy of better schools and equipment in older and less prosperous areas of the city, 4) the abolition of religious instruction in schools.

Cadet Training (See article P-6) in several Toronto high schools is described as "extra-curricular", but is in fact compulsory. Students who miss weekly marching without medical leave or a note of excuse are given detention by being made to march two afternoons in a row. Future plans call for issuing students uniforms and setting up indoor rifle-practice ranges on school grounds. Soon the students will be issued .303 Enfields. One student in a Grade 9-10 "Battalion" tells us that he is being "brain-washed". Much to his dismay, he

finds himself "marching everywhere", to school, back home, to a movie, etc. This deliberate and brazen attempt by the army to psychologize the students for military action must be ended. The students regard the whole thing as a farce, but are resigned to it. Our candidate will take up their cause.

Many textbooks are conscious distortions of history. For instance, there is no attempt to outline the growth of the labor movement. Others are superseded by scientific advance or are inadequate for preparation for advanced studies. They should be replaced with texts which are accurate and which challenge instead of impede the student's progress.

In depressed areas, many schools are inadequately equipped or run-down. Many old buildings should be replaced or reconditioned. There is a marked discrepancy between these and newer, suburban schools. The YSA candidate will call to an end to this discrimination.

The election campaign begins on November 21, and our next issue will report our progress.

ONTARIO CCF YOUTH (Continued from P-3)

of these revolutionary times, than the watered-down liberalism which some CCFers favor. And it should try to translate this program into action, by cooperating with such organizations as the C.U.C.N.D.

Secondly, if this youth organization is to escape the fate of its predecessor, it must state clearly its belief in the right of autonomy of a youth organization, limited only by the stated principles of its parent organization.

Thirdly, it must extend itself outside the campuses, among the high school students and young workers.

Altogether, it was a very successful convention, and we extend our best wishes to the officers elected in their task of building a strong Labor Party Youth in Ontario.

-John Riddell

(Ed. Note: The strength of the right wing in election of officers is a factor which compromises the debate and vote on resolutions. The present executive almost to a man played a defensive role against left wing advances in strengthening the resolutions and defeating others. It is the duty of the elected officers to utilize and publicize a democratically decided program. Whether this is done depends on the seriousness with which the executive regards its organization.)

Pickets Protest Cuba Boycott⁶

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance marched with over a dozen pickets at the US Consulate in both Toronto and Vancouver last Saturday, (Nov. 5). This action was in protest against the malicious US State Dep't. trade embargo and attempts to provoke and harass the Cuban people by manoeuvring Marines in and out of Guantanamo Nava Base. Good TV coverage further publicized the issue in both cities. Signs reading "Boost Canadian Trade With Cuba" and "Trade with Cuba Means Jobs" were aimed at Diefenbaker's demagogic stand on Canadian trade with Cuba.

High School Students In Forced March

We know that Bomb Shelter models are built to deceive the people into thinking they can survive nuclear war and go along with the capitalist class in waging such a war. At several high schools, students are forced to take part in "extra-curricular" Cadet training, the idea being to get them enthusiastic about fighting in an H-Bomb war.

The sargeant-majors that lecture students on their duty to fight for God, for King, for Country (and Capital, but keep it quiet) understate the intelligence of their audience. First of all, history shows that some of the bloodiest and most unnecessary wars were fought in the name of God. Religion is brought in to help cover up real motives. Fighting for the King is, of course, a laugh.

For Country? If this means for those who own it -- lock, stock and barrel, who is interested in fighting (and dying) for that?

If fighting for Country means fighting to stop the backstage preparation for war, for total disarmament, and for a change in our society to make peace possible, then it is worth fighting.

The purpose of Cadets is not for peace or a social change.

But Cadet training can backfire. Not only do most students resent being hauled out of bed early and rushed through breakfast for 40 minutes of marching back and forth on the school grounds ("erf, right, erf, right, erf, right") but they might get the bright idea that Cadet training could prove useful for fighting their own wars too.

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Down With Gunboat Diplomacy" was in protest against laying of minefields and buildup of supplies at Guantanamo Base. "No More Guatemalas" referred to the counter-revolutionary coup the State Dep't. is trying to repeat. And to echo the fervent cry of Cubans against the large US corporations that once dominated them, the sign "Cuba Si ! Yanqui no !"

The picket will continue. For dates and information, phone Joe Rosenblatt, Organizer, EM 6-1454. We would be very pleased to hear of your support. We must do everything we can to block US capital from destroying the brave fight of the Cuban people for independence. (In Vancouver, Nick Shugalo, RE8-5653)

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Canadian Youth BULLETIN

Organ of the Canadian Young Socialist Alliance in Toronto, Ontario.

81 Queen St. West, Toronto 1.
EM 6-1454

Managing Editor: John Darling
Editorial Board: Joe Rosenblatt
John Riddell
John Darling

SCHOOLS BAN CSND

Canadian Youth BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE IN CANADA

The Canadian Students for Nuclear Disarmament have been fighting for the right to form CSND branches in the high schools against the arbitrary opposition of the administration. While UN clubs are allowed to function in the schools, the CSND is not granted the same status, although overtures have been made in some cases that with the agreement of the UN bodies, the CSND would be able to operate through their facilities.

But why should this be the case? Why is the CSND not permitted to have the same rights as other types of student organizations? We suspect it is because the CSND, unlike the UN clubs, has a definite policy and furthermore a policy that is totally opposed to the policies of the Diefenbaker government. It is not simply a debating club.

The administration in the schools is primarily concerned with maintaining the status quo. They do not want students to question such things as fallout shelters, the nuclear armament of Canada, etc. In fact, they do not want the students to question at all. Not only has the CSND been denied any status, but members have been red-baited and hounded by teachers. That type of politics, evidently, is quite permissible!

When the YSA ran in the recent elections, one of the main demands in its program was student democracy in secondary schools. The suppression of the CSND confirms the validity of that demand. All students concerned with civil liberties must unite to struggle for the elementary right of the CSND to exist and put forward its views without harassment from reactionary officials.

- - -
-by Joe Rosenblatt

• editorial •

The recent CUCND Xmas Day Ottawa motorcade was indeed a remarkable achievement, what with the participation of some 500 students in dramatic protest against the ever-increasing pace of arms preparations by the present government. But the simple fact that the Tories and Liberals did not condescend to leave a single MP to meet the delegation points once again to the essentially political character of the demonstration. Diefenbaker's regime stands in frontal opposition to the CUCND's program. And while the Liberals talk about withdrawal from NORAD, they continue to advocate Canada's ties to the nuclear-armed NATO war alliance. The CUCND must draw the only conclusion; that the present government must be replaced. It must identify itself with the only major party that supports the demands of the anti-war forces, the CCF/New Party.

The only function of demonstrations can be to raise the issue and rally support from the Canadian people. This cannot be carried forward by continuance of the false theory of "no politics" when the issue is so obviously political. The time has come for a free and open discussion of the issues by all anti-war tendencies. Only in this way can a correct policy be formulated that will lead and give direction. Without such a program, the CUCND will stagnate and die.

Open Letter to the Model UN

We all desire that there be an end to international strife, that man should be able to move forward in peace and in harmony. This is the appeal that the United Nations has--the concept of "world government" in the eyes of the majority of the peoples of the world.

The UN is alleged to be an attempt at world government. It is supposed to resolve the international differences between nations. History demonstrates that this has not been the case. When it comes to the big issues --Korea, Indochina, the combined British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt-- the UN is bypassed.

Even on the question of peace and disarmament it has failed. These matters are handled at conferences composed only of the big powers, with negotiations in secret entirely outside the UN.

In all instances, when a major issue is involved, the UN is revealed to be nothing but a talk shop.

Why has the UN organization failed? Can its failing be remedied by organizational reforms? We don't think so. Failure is embadded right in the fabric of the UN and is clearly revealed when we come to examine the nature of the various delegations.

"World government," international cooperation between the peoples of the world, cannot even begin until the problem within the nations is resolved. There are actually 2 Canadas --Canada of the working people, and Canada of the capitalists. The capitalists rule Canada through the Tories, who stand opposed to the interests of the working people of this country. And it is the Tories who sit in the UN pretending to represent Canada, talking for disarmament while going ahead with the nuclear arming of Canadian forces. The same is true for the US --Kennedy and his billionaire cabinet choose those who claim to speak in the name of the American people.

Certainly, too, when Khrushchov sits down at the conference table, we do not hear the true voice of the Russian people. He represents a privileged strata in Soviet society. It is true that the planned economy, unlike capitalism, does not have a built-in war drive, but Khrushchov's crushing of the Hungarian peoples struggle to establish Socialist democracy, demonstrates that the soviet bureaucracy has common cause with the capitalists in defending its privileged position against the working people.

It is only when the people --the workers and farmers, are the government in the various nations, that we can have effective international world government.

How can one even talk of the UN being an instrument for world government when it doesn't seat the Chinese peoples republic and instead recognizes the reactionary minority Nationalist government of Chiang Kai Shek? Its intervention in the Congo has given legal sanction to Belgian imperialism's stealing the mineral rich Katanga province. It has in effect deposed the rightfully elected parliamentary Congolese government of Patrice Lumumba and helped to install the military dictator, Mobutu.

It has failed to assist the struggles of the Algerian peoples against France. It has not demanded that the South African government get off the backs of the Africans. It has not demanded that the USA guarantee the equality of the Negro people. It has just failed to uphold Cuban protests against the US for aiding and abetting counterrevolutionary plots against the Cuban people.

The UN is a pawn of the big powers whose interests, at every turn, violate the needs and interests of the vast majority of the people of the world. Yes, let us all participate in the struggle for a better world--for peace. But the first step in this direction is to join in the struggle to build the new labor party in Canada and to put it into office. When the working people have political power in their own country, we can truly make Canada a factor for peace. It is in this struggle that the fate of mankind is involved.

WHICH ROAD FOR CUCND

a reader's views

a reply

To the Editor:

Only during this past year has a national peace movement been organized in Canada. Canada's equivalent to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the C.U.C.N.D., has done well in adapting, as in Britain, a non-political, broad base for its movement. As long as it never forgets its overall goal of peace, while compromising so as to keep a broad base able to bear pressure on the public, I'm sure it won't be long before its goal will be realized.

No longer are the western world and the eastern world the real enemies, but instead both have a common enemy, the superbomb. This being so, the CUCND as other peace movements has not only the job of advocating coexistence and tolerance but also it must lay the path for a world without war. This entails a change of values for most people which would see military instruction and even war comic books as a part of history.

Everywhere you look you see evidence of people thinking in terms of war, national defence and sovereignty. In all political parties, all religions and social classes we find this train of thought; and for this very reason this issue becomes bigger than politics and religion, and of importance to all.

With talk of Canada becoming a nuclear power it is essential that the CUCND educate the public as to the possible consequences of a continuation of the arms race. The time is near when the Civil Defence must be outrightly attacked as instigating war and almost assuring it. For when survival for a few is insured, nuclear war could become very profitable for a few and actually declared.

There are many who remember peace movements after the great wars and will say this is the same thing over again. What these people forget is that never before have people been through a cold war as we have with fear and suspicion so acute. Also they fail to see that with our modern means of warfare, compared to gas war preparations, one miscalculation or crack-pot could cause the mass murder of billions of innocent people.

So the time has come for a change in our line of thinking. The CUCND has the task of

(Continued on Page 4)

The struggle for peace and disarmament today is becoming one of the epic conflicts of the world's history. Never before have the people of the world been so frightened by prospect of war, and so united and so organized in their longing for peace. Yet the actual prospect of disarmament seems as distant as ever. The people of the United States and the Soviet Union agree; they want disarmament. The governments are ready with manifestos, saying they want disarmament too. Yet each conference ends with the same report, "No progress". Obviously peace is not the simple task one might imagine. It is made difficult not only by mutual suspicion and distrust, but by dishonesty and hypocrisy on the part of at least some of the governments concerned.

It is because of a growing realization that our government is guilty of exactly this insincerity, that the CUCND has been formed. Certainly the capitalist powers have not compiled a very pretty record in the past ten years. In reply to Soviet unilateral cessation of nuclear tests, the Americans block any permanent agreement and plan a resumption of their tests this spring. In answer to Soviet offers of European disengagement, they give their European allies nuclear weapons. In answer to offers of peaceful co-existence, they show themselves unable to co-exist even with Cuba, accusing this nation of 1/2000th its wealth of "economic aggression" (!!) and doing all within its power to overthrow a popular government. In answer to suggestions of a peace based on democracy and liberty, they support colonialist oppression in Algeria, and fascist dictatorships (from Franco to Chiang) around the world.

We must realize that the capitalist class must oppose disarmament, because they realize that their power and wealth depends on the continuation of the arms race. Military bureaucrats fear the loss of their power; armaments makers value their profits; imperialist-capitalists who recognize how necessary force is to the maintenance of their commercial empires, and the whole capitalist class which realizes that disarmament, while

(Continued on Page 4)

(WRITER'S VIEWS-Continued)

bringing about this new means of thinking and to be effective it must unite all peoples for the common aim.

Pressure groups wanting more schools, hospitals or foreign aid must all become part of this peace movement. Their aim can be made the same as ours if they realize nuclear disarmament would leave millions of dollars for other purposes. Also, we must think of means to reallocate these funds so as to maintain full employment, and in doing so make disarmament more than snidealists dream.

There is so much to do, but to survive to better times we must do it, and with the help of the CUCND we will.

- J. Harding

Saskatoon (U. of S.)

cops disrupt sales

For the past few weeks, Young Socialist Alliance members have been carrying on a vigorous campaign selling the YOUNG SOCIALIST at the University of Toronto campus, plus several high schools across the city; the response indicating a heightened interest and receptivity to socialist ideas.

At HumberSide Collegiate, the sellers were met with opposition from school officials, who promptly called the cops, as an attempt at intimidation. The police claimed that the YS salesman had to have a license to sell. Not being sure of the law in this question, the YSAers started to distribute instead. At this, one of the cops lost him temper and asked if the paper had been looked over by the subversive squad.

The sellers replied that they were opposed to police state measures and that anyone had the right to put forward his ideas. Despite the presence of the police, students came out of the school to get the paper and were not intimidated by the gendarmes.

This makes twice that YS sales at this collegiate have been disrupted by police. Despite such provocations, the YSA will continue to sell. We urge all students concerned with democratic rights to fight police attempts to infringe on civil liberties which are the property of us all, and which were won only at great cost.

READ THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

6 months 50¢ 1 year \$1.00

Order through sub blank, or the YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, 81 Queen St. W., Toronto 1
Youth Forums and Socials held alternate Friday evenings. For information call EM6-1454.

(REPLY-Continued)

It would benefit the Soviet economy, would throw the unplanned American economy into chaos. We will not change Canadian policy by writing letters to Mr. Diefenbaker; as the representative of Canadian capitalism he has very good reasons for acting as he does.

There is a deeper reason why the achievement of peace will not be an easy task. The cold war grew out of the conflict of the United States and the Soviet Union, and thus (as we can see from the tribulations of Cuba) from the conflict of a planned economy and capitalism. This conflict can only be ended by the triumph of either one system or the other; co-existence is an attractive but impossible idea.

We have seen that disarmament, apparently so universally desired, is a revolutionary demand, attacking the very foundations of the capitalist system. What are the implications of this fact on the Canadian peace movement?

In the first place, our peace movement is definitely political, in the sense that it tries either to force the government to change its policies or to replace it with another. This does not mean that the CUCND should affiliate itself with any particular party, or limit its membership to non-Communists or to Communists or any other group, but it is inevitable that we will work most closely with those political parties which accept our programme. Just as the British CND has won acceptance of its programme by the Labor Party, we must win acceptance by the new Canadian labor party, the only party that could possibly accept our programme, and then work towards its election on the basis of this programme. And the action taken by the CUCND will also be political in nature. We will not simply subsidize the post office by writing letters to members of parliament, but hold demonstrations, protest marches, and meetings to put direct pressure on the government to accept our policies.

One of the most encouraging features of the CUCND is its realization of the political nature of its task. This is seen most notably in the organization of the Christmas March on Ottawa, a dramatic expression of the determination of Canadian students to force the government to adjust its foreign policy to one more suited to the determination of the Canadian people never to be destroyed in the horror of a nuclear war.

-- John Riddell

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

"A World To Win"



How to fight the next war

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE of Toronto has entered 25-year old John Darling as a youth candidate to fight for the abolition of Cadet training in the high schools. Running for Board of Education in Ward 6, he is the only student's candidate to appear in this year's civic elections.

The students of Parkdale and Bloor Collegiates in Ward 6, like their fellow students in schools all over Toronto, are forced to take part in Cadet training. Cadets are, officially, "extra-curricular". This means that students only have to take part if they want to. But in practice Cadet training is compulsory. It takes place either in the morning before classes, or during PT class, or a day is taken off when yearly "inspection" comes around. In other words it is part of school routine. Students can get off only with a note from their parents, or by medical leave. But ordinarily it is tough for them to get out. If a student doesn't care to put on a uniform and march around and take rifle-practice, he has to go to a lot of trouble. Then he is alone, and feels he is under pressure from the students still training. But what if he thinks Cadets is a waste of time? (And he's got a good reason.)

A student could begin by asking "What is the Army and Air Force doing in the schools anyway?" Students interested in officer training or flying should be able to attend after-school or evening instruction. Making all the men march around for hours in uniform on the school grounds is not teaching them anything.

If you suspect something -- so does your YSA candidate.

We suspect the army brass is interested in showing who's boss. They want to get the students used to taking orders. Used to instant obedience to an Army command. Used to the idea that an officer is a small god and you don't answer back.

You can prove this by asking, why aren't

officers elected? If that sounds crazy, think of being in a battlefield where an officer can direct his troops considering the number of casualties and tactics which will save lives, or he can order them into any action with an eye on his army career and pleasing the brass. This is why the army ranks should be able to elect their officers.

But the army wouldn't want that. Oh, no. Their idea is "Yours is not to reason why, yours is but to do and die." If the military brass of Canada can spread a little propaganda in the schools about the authority of officers and the need to fight wars to solve the world's problems, they will be very happy. They are professional war-horses. You can bet they don't like the proposal that Canada disarm. No more wars and no more armies would mean they would have to go out and look for new jobs.

Students of today think differently about future wars. "Remembrance Day", for instance, has an additional meaning. It is not merely remembrance of the dead. It is a fact that the soldiers we remember on November 11th died in a kind of war that will never be fought again.

Students want to know exactly how the soldier fights the missiles and H-Bombs of future wars. There seems to be one logical way. Fight the button-pushers, the "brinkmanship" diplomats, the "pre-emptive" war experts, and this is fighting the war. Fighting this war is fighting for peace.

And brother, it is going to be a fight. It will mean establishing a different kind of society, one without professional soldiers. The way to start fighting the brass is demanding that the Toronto schools end Cadet training.

Join our election campaign! Help elect a student-labor representative for the city Board of Education. We leave 81 Queen St.W. (phone EM 6-1454) 1 PM Saturdays, 7 PM weekdays. Refreshments.

GIVE STUDENTS A VOICE IN EDUCATION

Support John DARRING

Young Socialist Alliance candidate

BOARD OF EDUCATION

WARD 6

for a student-labor program
in Toronto schools

#ABOLISH CADET TRAINING in the
high schools!

#FREE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION!

#NO RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION in
public schools!

#MORE STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT!

#FREE TEXTBOOKS!

Join Us In Our Campaign Drive

Leave 81 Queen St. W.

Saturdays 1 p.m. Weekdays 7 p.m.

EM-6-1454

Founded in 1961

ycnd - YOUTH CAMPAIGN FOR
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

and



csnd - CANADIAN STUDENTS FOR
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

ALL-YOUTH RALLY

AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CANADA

Sunday Feb 10 - 2 PM

at North Toronto YWCA - 2532 Yonge,
at St Clements

= FOLK SINGING !

= LAUNCHING OF NATIONAL PETITION FOR
A REFERENDUM !

= YOUTH SPEAKERS !

= OPEN DISCUSSION OF PROJECTS FOR FUTURE

JOIN THE YCND

(Found in 1961-2)

YCND - CSND Conference

SUN., FEB. 17

The purpose of this conference is to formally establish the YCND, to adopt a constitution and program, to plan strategy for this coming election period, and to elect an executive. Everyone who has paid the 50¢ membership fee will be able to participate fully in this conference.

The conference is being organized by high school students and young working people who believe that militant action must be taken to prevent the Canadian government from accepting nuclear weapons.

The nucleus of the YCND was formed during the recent crisis brought on by American General Norstad's statements that Canada was committed to nuclear weapons and by Liberal Leader Pearson's support of nuclear weapons. This nucleus organized a large demonstration in front of City Hall one day after the Norstad statement, distributed leaflets denouncing Pearson's support of nuclear weapons at Liberal meetings, and organized a rally in the Unitarian church on Jan. 20. As well as these activities a petition campaign demanding a referendum on nuclear weapons was supported.

After these activities, the original participants came to the conclusion that a permanent anti-nuclear arms group consisting of high school students and young workers was needed. We feel that such a group would have determination, courage, and militancy. Since the most militant section of the powerful British peace movement is known as the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, we decided to adopt this name. We intend to build a group which will protest all attempts to arm Canada with nuclear weapons, which will oppose the participation of Canada in the hysterical drive toward nuclear war, and a group which will act to increase the popular understanding of roots and drives toward war, as well as an understanding of the means of overcoming these.

The YCND intends to work in close collaboration with the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Toronto Campaign for Disarmament. We do not see ourselves as an alternative to the existing peace movements, but simply intend to create an organization which can satisfy the demands of high school students and working youth who vigorously oppose Canada's participation in the war drive. Ultimately we hope to become affiliated with similar groups in all the major centers of Canada.

The following is a proposed agenda for the conference:

1. Constitution
 - a. Organizational structure, b. Relationship between CSND and YCND,
 - c. Relationship to other anti-nuclear arms groups, d. Membership.
2. Policy
 - a. General Policy statement, b. Policy planks.
3. Working Plans
 - a. Public meetings, b. Educational series, c. Demonstrations,
 - d, Rallies, e. Socials.
4. Strategy during the election campaign.
5. Plans for other YCND branches.
6. Election of an executive.

For further information contact Peter Horbatiuk, RU3 1344.

(printed with voluntary labor)

Mass

(found in 1961)

Anti-Nuclear Arms

PICKET. LIBERAL

Party

Rally

MAPLE LEAF GARDENS

FRIDAY April 5th

Mr. Pearson and the Liberal Party advocate nuclear weapons for Canadian forces for so-called "defensive" purposes. Yet even US Defence Secretary McNamara, among others, states that the Bomarc serves as a "very expensive target" which would "draw the enemy ballistic missile fire in the event of war" (Toronto Star Mar. 29) It is adequately clear that nuclear armed Bomarcs at home or nuclear armed Voodocs and F104s in NATO will not defend the Canadian people in a nuclear war. But a nuclear-armed Canada would accelerate the arms race and increase the spread of nuclear weapons and thereby bring us nearer to an annihilating "nuclear holocaust". Mr. Pearson and the

Liberals are willing to spend millions of dollars on useless nuclear weaponry at the expense of much needed social and welfare measures -- houses, medicare, schools.

The YCND-CSND urges the Canadian electorate to reject this fraudulent and intolerable policy by VOTING AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMS. A vote against nuclear arms means a vote against nuclear war.

-----Please Note:-----

Our intention is to protest, not to disrupt this Liberal rally. Any disruption would only work against us. Therefore, we strongly urge demonstrators to refrain from provoking an unruly incident both inside and outside the meeting.

ASSEMBLE AT CHURCH & CARLTON 6:30 PM

South-east corner We need 300 picketers!

For information : 923-7752

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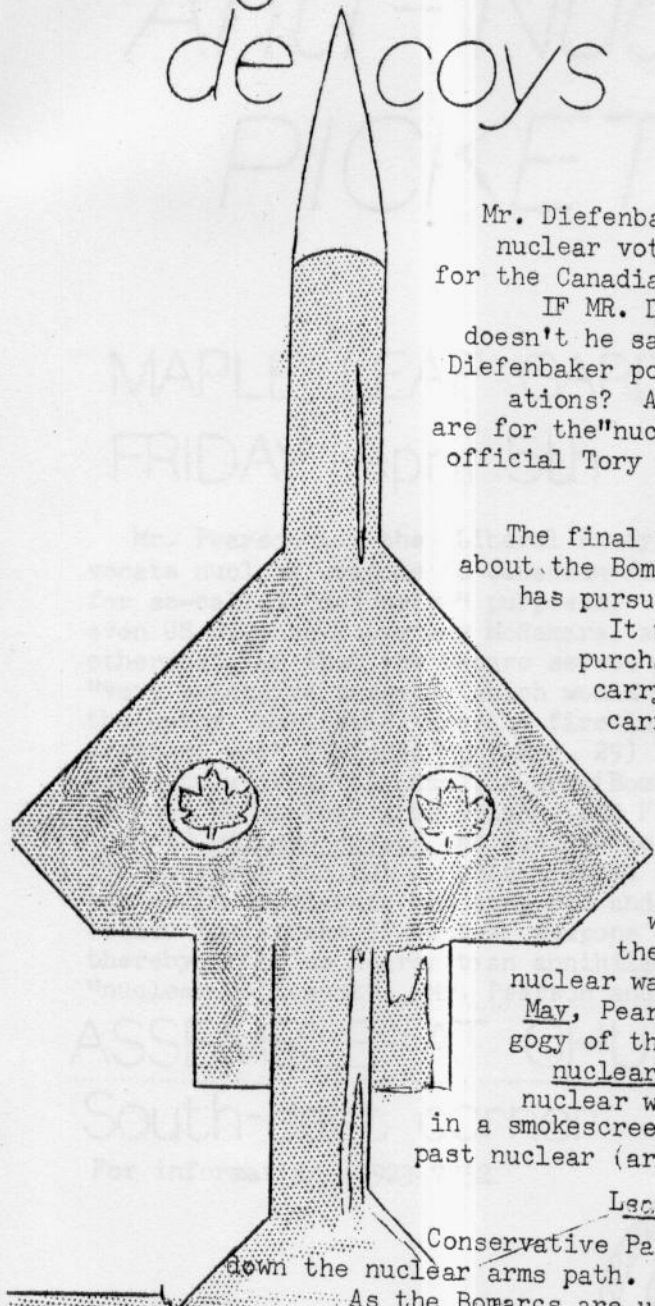


ycnd

csnd

OUTH & SCHOOL CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Diefenbaker's decoys



.....The Canadian people are being used as nuclear decoys. US Secretary of Defence McNamara verified the fact that the Bomarc's have no other military value other than to draw enemy missile fire in the event of war.

Mr. Diefenbaker is using this statement as a play for the anti-nuclear vote. If the Prime Minister rejects a nuclear decoy role for the Canadian people, why doesn't he scrap the Bomarc's?

IF MR. DIEFENBAKER FAVORS A NON-NUCLEAR ROLE for Canada, why doesn't he say so? How can the Canadian people test the true Diefenbaker position regarding nuclear arms and their grave implications? And how does he explain that Harkness and Sevigny who are for the "nuclear arms now" policy of the Liberals are running as official Tory candidates?

Anti-Nuclear Deeds, Not Words, please.

The final test is not words, but deeds. Knowing all the facts about the Bomarc's and their intended purpose, the Tory government has pursued a pro-nuclear policy since 1957 to the present.

It was a Tory government which built the Bomarc bases and purchased the Honest Johns, Voodoos, which are intended to carry nuclear warheads. The only thing which has not been carried out as yet is the actual arming of these weapons ---which Mr. Diefenbaker now reveals will be settled at the NATO conference in May.

Only A Month's Difference Between Dief & Lester

The difference between Tory and Liberal nuclear policy is not in the obtaining of nuclear weapons; both favor the acquisition of nuclear weapons; the difference is the timing of the actual arrival of nuclear warheads on Canadian soil ---Diefenbaker is for them in May, Pearson wants them now, in April. Despite all the demagoguery of the Prime Minister, the Conservative Party is for nuclear weapons. The statements of Diefenbaker regarding nuclear weapons are intended to cover the nuclear arms issue in a smokescreen, while the Tories play the shell game with their past nuclear (arms policy in order to get re-elected.

Leading Us Down the Nuclear Path

Conservative Party nuclear policy in the past has been one of going down the nuclear arms path. It has been a policy which they have never renounced. As the Bomarc's are useless, do the offensive Voodoos and Honest Johns have any defensive value? Can we put any faith in the whole Tory nuclear policy? No! Diefenbaker and the Tory nuclear policy represents a monument of deception. In the nuclear age there is no defence!

Nuclear arms do not defend, but serve as a provocation to nuclear war. The YCND-CSND urges the Canadian people to reject the nuclear decoys policy of both the Tories and Liberals!

ON APRIL 8th VOTE AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMS!

VOTE FOR JOBS AND SCHOOLS, NOT A-BOMBS!

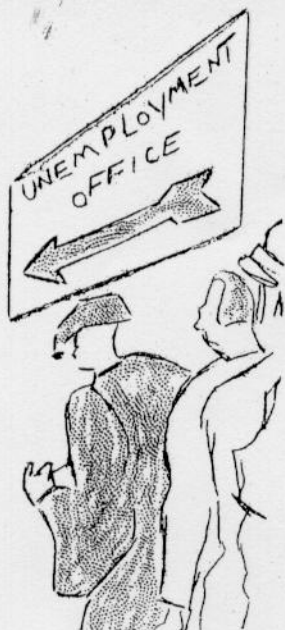
Published by the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (YCND) and the Canadian Schools for Nuclear Disarmament (CSND) For Information: RU 3-4344 Voluntary Labor

WANT A JOB THIS SUMMER?

(Founded in 1961 - YSA)

Well, you'll be one of a fortunate few if you manage to get one, as a recent survey of the Canadian Press news agency establishes. For example, 2,000 students at the University Of Alberta are presently seeking jobs, but a bare twenty-five per cent are given any chance of success. --and Alberta is the province least hit by the current "recession". The picture elsewhere is hardly encouraging.

Your chances of becoming a doctor, a technician, of obtaining greater skills, are endangered by summer unemployment. It might mean that you will not be able to buy text books over next school term. Does it need to be this way? It isn't like this everywhere. Take Cuba for example, a still largely poverty stricken country of six million, for decades bled white by the exploitation of giant corporations.



Two years ago, when the revolutionary government took power, there were 600,000 jobless-- and that then was "normal" for Cuba. Today, more than half of these have jobs and many others, formerly destitute, are working part-time. Barring Kennedy's crushing the Cuban revolution, with Diefenbaker's aid, unemployment in Cuba will be a thing of the past.

How did they do it?--by taking over the economy and planning it in the interests of society as a whole--by building what they needed, houses, hospitals, schools. Not only has unemployment been drastically reduced, but the standard of living continues to rise. You may well ask why these things are not being built in Canada-- although no one will dispute the crying need for them. The reason's quite simple--it doesn't pay. Doesn't pay

the small minority of capitalists who own the country, that is. Much bigger profits can be extracted by continuing a mad arms race against a fictitious enemy, and by building "defences" to protect us against a weapon for which there is NO defence--the H-Bomb. Even with such a massive war drive, the economy is coming apart at the seams. (Don't forget that they only managed to get out of the last depression via world war II) But the working people of Cuba are not looking to war to solve their economic problems. They would like nothing better than to be left alone by Kennedy and all his stooges and camp followers, who want to restore "our way of life" ala the United Fruit Co and the U.S. marines.

Surely, if little, impoverished Cuba can take its destiny in its own hands, industrially advanced and wealthy Canada can do the same. Just think about it for awhile. You should have the RIGHT to a job, and to an education--- without being penalized because you don't have the cold hard cash to buy your "equality of opportunity". Students elsewhere are taking the initiative in the struggle for a better world, and there's no reason you can't do the same.

- FOR FREE EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS'

- UNEMPLOYMENT PAY FOR STUDENTS'

JOB'S FOR ALL-

SUPPORT THE NEW PARTY'

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH **FORWARD!**

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE
METRO-TORONTO COUNCIL

CONTRIBUTIONS AND ENQUIRIES SENT TO TONI FOSTER - EDITOR - 565 JARVIS

Who are the New Democratic Youth?

We are young people between the ages of 14 and 30, students and workers who believe that this country needs the strong, dynamic action of its youth. From birth to young adulthood, we are that section of the population which is owned, manipulated and controlled, given no voice in the affairs which concern us most. Yet we are the object of such sinister campaigns as 'Operation Freedom' and can be enlisted in the armed forces at the age of 18. By the rule of the corporations, operating through their 'fronts', the Conservative, Liberal and Social Credit parties, we bear the main burden of the products of the system we live under - unemployment, depression, war. It is time for youth to rise in their own defense! We say NOW is the time to realize Canada's immense Potential!

The New Democratic Youth say:

Free education for all!

Full employment through a planned economy!

No nuclear arms for Canada!

How are We Organized?

We are organized into clubs where we have a feeling of unity in our demonstrations, meetings, socials. We are an affiliated section of the New Democratic Party, with autonomy, but full voting rights in the senior organization.

Why FORWARD?

FORWARD will promote discussion of important ideas and events, and FORWARD will exchange ideas and experiences between clubs and help co-ordinate and develop growth and activities of the New Democratic Youth clubs in the Metropolitan Toronto area.



**MARCH
FOR PEACE**

Meet

Easter Saturday

1:00 p.m.

University of Toronto

Library

FORWARD will inform our members, supporters and friends about our activities and rally their support and participation.

FORWARD is YOUR paper. Make use of it! We welcome suggestions and criticisms from all our readers. In particular, we want contributions, articles, reports on club activities, letters. We also would appreciate a little hard cash. In fact, as much as you can give us. With your support, FORWARD can become a real factor in making the New Democratic Youth a dynamic force in Toronto.

NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR CANADA!
by - John Wilson

The recent antics of Liberal leader Lester B. Pearson in the House of Commons have made it crystal clear that the New Democratic Party is the only serious national force to which young people opposing nuclear weapons in Canada can look for leadership and support.

In sharp contrast to the cynical hucksters of the 'civil defence' and 'survival' politics of the big business parties, NDP Federal leader T.C. "Tommy" Douglas recently declared that his main reason for leaving provincial politics was to fight Tory moves to implant atomic warheads on our soil.

In view of the fact that there is NO defence against nuclear devastation, the current efforts of Tory propagandists to promote bomb "shelters" and "survival courses" can be interpreted in

only one way. They are part of a massive psychological campaign to persuade the Canadian people that we can somehow survive a nuclear cataclysm, despite the fact that our economy, presumably our means of survival, would be almost totally destroyed -- and that probably three-quarters of the population would be killed, a minor consideration it seems, to our big shot military strategists.

The New Democratic Party, and we, the New Democratic Youth, stand unequivocally opposed to nuclear weapons. We believe it is CRIMINAL that billions of dollars from the public treasury are spent on the acquisition of useless and obsolete military hardware while vast numbers of our people are forced to exist at sub-standard levels in a deteriorating economy which has little or nothing to offer for the future of Canadian youth.

Young people cannot stand idly by while Diefenbaker and his lieutenants cynically prepare to bring in nuclear arms behind our back!

Nuclear weapons will be a paramount issue in the coming federal elections. All youth who are opposed to the nuclear armament of our country should join and work in the campaign for an NDP government.

Peace is a POLITICAL question and will be solved only by political means.

While we recognize the legitimate and important role that can

be played by the independent peace movements, and are willing to participate with youth of other political tendencies in this struggle, the best way to fight for peace is to elect a government with policies for peace - a New Democratic Party government. JOIN US!

POLITICAL PARTIES IN HIGH SCHOOLS ?

by Harry K.

We high school students never had it so good ... if we are to believe what we are taught.

All the time we're being hammered about our "great democracy", about freedom of the individual, about our vast opportunities, about freedom of speech and education, and about how nice and free and wealthy we are.

But how much of this is true? If we have freedom for the individual, what kind of freedom is it? - freedom to starve to death? Freedom to tramp the streets looking for a job that isn't there?

If this is your freedom, Mr. Diefenbaker, you can keep it. If we have freedom of speech, why is it unlawful to make speeches in parks?

"But we are all able to become wealthy" our teachers tell us, our papers hammer into us, our televisions and radios scream at us.

So why is it that a recent survey showed that the vast majority

of millionaires in America inherited their fortunes, THAT "FREE ENTERPRISE" WENT OUT SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN MONOPOLIES, TRUSTS AND BIG BUSINESS CAME IN?

Now is the time to talk back to our history teachers, to ask these and other questions in our current events clubs, United Nations and debating clubs, to organize New Democratic Youth and disarmament clubs in our schools, to build, strengthen, solidify and support the only party that stands for democratic labor legislation, full employment, a national health plan, nuclear disarmament and free education.

We will meet resistance. Our school boards think it is against our "Democratic traditions" to let us discuss freely, to let us think independently of their "supervision", to let us have political clubs, discussion clubs, and similar activities. I say it is against our "democratic traditions" NOT to have these clubs.

JOIN the NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH in the fight for free education, disarmament, anti-discrimination action! Join us in our demonstrations, pickets, rallies and socials. Join the fight for a world fit to live in! Help us elect the NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY to POWER!

OPERATION FREEDOM

In the U.S.A. gray-flannel fascism is conducted by the Birch Society and the Minutemen which merely get the support of the occasional local business association. But here Socialism and Communism are such threats that the

struggle cannot be left to "private initiative".

Our Chamber of Commerce has started a campaign called "operation freedom" which used to restrict itself to publishing pamphlets like "Fallacies of Socialism", but which is now also working its way into school rooms.

Its school program includes, among a variety of other gimmicks, films followed by question periods. On the question sheets are of course included the "correct" answers. One question was "In what ways may newsboys be classified as capitalists". I'm not sure; but we're all capitalists, aren't we?

These venerable exponents of free enterprise however make it quite clear that they do not like "cutthroat" competition. And they reason that Medical Plans equal Welfare States, equals Socialism, equals Communism; therefore, we will protect your freedom by taking away your liberty.

The Canadian people, especially the youth, must make it quite clear that we are nobody's "dupes", that we are perfectly able to think for ourselves, and that we will treat this campaign with the maximum public hostility and contempt.

By AL ENGLER

For further information call:

EAST TORONTO

Roy Gill

ROSEDALE

Hans Modlich

WEST TORONTO

John Wilson

- HO-1-2537

- OX-9-7383

- 535-4960

New Doings by Clubs and Members

University of Toronto

President for '62-'63 - Chuck Freedman

East Toronto

A comprehensive series of educational on the platform of the New Democratic Party. Meets in East York Collegiate, Monday, April 23rd.

TONI FOSTER - Vice-President Ontario NDY recently addressed East and West Toronto Clubs on her recent trip to Cuba. Both clubs adopted resolutions supporting the aims and principles of the Cuban people.

TIM SPARHAM - President of the Metro-council is actively working on a membership drive in Rosedale and York South.

AL ENGLER - regional vice-president Ontario NDY addressed East and West Toronto NDY clubs on the significance and development of the New Democratic Party.

STAN DAVIES - secretary Ontario NDY took part in a panel discussion on CFTO on religion and politics.

DICK FIDLER - spoke to Rosedale NDY on the New Democratic Party's foreign Policy.

YORK CENTRE

David Thompson - CH-1-1281

ETOBICOKE

Terry Morley - BE-3-6762

SCARBORO

Wayne Sigen - AM-1-7985

Toronto

I.

TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE VANCOUVER YSA...MAY.62

(R.T. for the Vancouver YSA)

(Ruth Tait?)

We will deal in this document with the situation the Vancouver YSA finds itself in presently, and in passing also mention how our orientation (which is the orientation stated in the majority documents of the YSA, Summer, 61) is logically expressed within the framework of this situation.

We will try to illustrate the different facets of our work in the BC NDY in regards to the following:

1. Clubs
2. Provincial Executive
3. Federal Executive
4. Left-Wing Caucus
5. the press....Viewpoint, Young Socialist, YSF

But we will begin by giving a short sketch of the Vancouver local itself, of its membership and its methods of functioning.

.....

As regards membership, the Vancouver YSA has grown from 5 or 6 to about 13 in the past few months. This growth has been largely, we feel, due to our work with the YSF.

The ages range from 14 to 22.

The YSA meets regularly every 2 weeks, and more frequently before any important activity. Its prime role is that of a disciplined caucus within the left wing caucus and the YSF association.

The YSA participates in the weekly educationals given by leading comrades in the Vancouver YSA, rather than giving its own educationals at this time.

.....

THE CLUBS:

The YSA in Vancouver is active in 4 of the 5 Vancouver clubs, with virtual undisputed control of 3 of them. Important positions are held. It is our policy to aim for educational, rather than functional positions, and we have 4 comrades who are the educational or program chairmen of their clubs, with more in other positions.

The club where we have the most comrades is in East Vancouver. Organized by one of the YSA here, it is generally acknowledged by both the left and right here to be the best in the city from the point of view of consistent performance and activity. To the broad left wing, it is a sort of Utopia. Solidly working class in outlook and in the composition of its members, it discusses Marxist works and issues with thoroughness and interest. Militant and uncompromising on basic issues, it has earned the right to speak out strongly due to its admirable performance record. It is unchallenged. This club is the work of our comrades, and we have recruited 3 new YSA members from it.

The North Shore club recently went through a long and bitter struggle on the specific subject of the Vanguard and Trotskyism generally...some of our comrades had been selling the Vanguard and were under severe pressure because of it. Expulsions were threatened. We were dealing here with a vicious and powerful right winger. But our comrades were, with the help of the strong left here, victorious and now North Vancouver thrives with ourselves in the leadership.

These two examples are used to illustrate the fact that the climate here is ripe for, demands, in fact, certain struggles and some degree of militancy. We do not choose to fight about Vanguard in a youth club, but sometimes these battles are thrust upon us.

Also, it should be clear from the descriptions of the two clubs that, far from being isolated, the left wing has a large degree of control here. The left wing clubs are generally acknowledged to be the better ones, to have been the ones which build the movement as a whole the best.

*It is further significant that our struggles in the NDY here are with the treacherous left..the stalinist left, the ~~communist left~~ the

reformist left, the centrist left...far more than the right, who are now scattered and disorganized. And this makes a great deal of difference in the way we carry out our orientation.

This is why fights arise on a direct and sophisticated plane about Trotskysim, reformism and bureaucracy. We battle with the ideologically opposed left on all but the basic issues, not, in the main, with a vicious and spiteful right wing who are ignorant of politics.

THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE :

The battle with the left is well illustrated in the case of the NDY provincial executive in B.C. That executive has a left majority which is responsible to our left caucus. Much of what the left caucus does originates from the YSA. At least recently this is getting to be more and more the case. Also, one of our comrades is now the secretary of the executive, having the full confidence of the president and considerable co-operation from the rest of the table officers.

But none the less there are wide differences of opinion. The president is generally with us all the way. The vice-president is an ex-stalinist who goes along with us on basic issues, but fights with us on many others...and so it goes. But those who fight with us generally do so within the framework of left wing politics. The right wing is by now too demoralized and diunited to be much trouble. We have never, for example, had to fight seriously with anyone except for a few individual right wingers, who were soon boored down, on such issues as the banning of Press and Vanguard.

As things stand at the moment, the table officers do most of the real work of the executive. The right wing have proven themselves inefficient and disinterested. We try to involve them, but are generally unsuccessful. But it is not a case of our dropping them...they dropped us, or are trying to.

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE :

The generally radical atmosphere in B.C. manifests itself also in the attitude of the B.C. NDY generally and of our comrades towards the Federal Executive and towards Picket.

Here the YSA, which attempts to act as a guiding and modifying force on the rampant adventurism and ultra-leftism prevalent here, has an especially difficult task. In B.C. the clubs are quivering with furious indignation at Picket. He has insulted us in every way possible, threatened to disband us, and assaulted our president both verbally and physically.

All of this has so infuriated people here, that there was quite serious talk of lynching and head-breaking after the last council meeting. It took the upmost persuasive powers of our comrades to talk the executive and the clubs into channeling thier fury into constructive building of the movement rather than fist-fighting.

A large and stormy left caucus was called, and we turned the tide there by convincing people that in order to protect ourselves from Piket, in order to combatt him really effectively we had to build the NDY. We advanced proposals for a youth election rally, for a co-ordinating committee of the Vancouver clubs, and for expanding the number of clubs. It was up-hill work but we made it, and now the NDY is in fine, militant, but cautious form out here for the thime being at least.

This is our role; to guide the restless and wide-spread discontent in the BC youth movement into meaningful action. But despite our efforts there will be explosions from B.C. because B.C., as regards the NDY, is an explosive situation.

Yet the beauracracy and inefficiency in Ottawa must be fought, and we in B.C. have both the strong organization and the mass determination to do so, as long as such action is not foolhardy and adventuristc.

THE LEFT CAUCUS:

Some idea of the importance and the power of the left wing caucus may be gathered from what has been mentioned before.

This organization, in effect the greatest decision-maker in B.C. NDY, was instituted carefully and consciously by ourselves. It meets on every occasion of importance, and has grown in membership from about a dozen to 30 or so. The YSA, of course, meets before the caucus and decides our policy..which usually turns out to be caucus-policy as we are in reality the leadership there.

Decisions on action made at the caucus are fairly well carried out, and the co-operation gets better all the time. The atmosphere is congenial, informal, and the thoroughness of the debate as we see it is admirable. This is one of the YSA's most successful manoevers, and will become more and more useful as time passes and as the caucus improves.

THE PRESS:

Last report on Viewpoint is that it will not be published for some time as there are no more funds. This is straight from the horses mouth..Piket himself told us this. This is not an entirely desirable situation, of course, but

now is our opportunity, and we have already seized it, to show that the costly publication pays off neither financially or politically.

Of course there has been the famous Picket-B.C. fight over Viewpoint. In this case, although perhaps more tact could have been applied, I think that the BC record is clear. Picket has written childish insulting letters to us, has ignored our politeness requests. Some action had to be taken, and we believe that the action was the correct one...the action of a provincial section using its rights to curb Federal action.

Naturally, many attempts were made to work with Viewpoint, all to no avail before action was taken.

The Young Socialist.

To be used, at this stage, to be spread among the contacts who are closest to us. The NDP executive here can move against sales.

YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM:

We see the Young Socialist Forum, a journal of socialist opinion which was instituted by ourselves, which is mainly responsible to us, as a paper having a double role.

1. It has been used to hold the left in B.C. inside the NDY organization, and to build the revolutionary organization, the YSA.

2. This accomplished, the YSF must become a weapon in building the youth movement generally.

.....

On the first role of the YSF, we feel that we have been highly successful. First of all, the YSF has been the biggest safety valve in BC. Here you see the seething discontent rise to the surface in debate and expression of opinion, not in dissection of the mass party. Many times we have said.. "No Joe, don't quit.. write it out in the YSF." This is no exaggeration, not a humorous remark. But for the YSF many of the best elements in the NDY would have staged a mass exodus.

Also, we must note that if the YSA has doubled its membership, it has been through work on the YSF. We have, then, made some very great gains.

On the second matter, of course we have not been so brilliant. YSF is not a pure or experienced publication, and there have been many mistakes made. But we look to some very revolutionary changes.

First of all, of course a very great effort must be made for our comrades to contribute more and for a more healthy attitude to be achieved towards the NDY. This is being done now, in the election issue in production at the moment.

Secondly, there is a possibility, a very real and new one, of the YSF, in a more popular and agitational form, becoming the official organ of the B.C. NDY. This suggestion came from the youth executive itself, and we will likely impliment it next month.

The plan is that we will retain the material and the equipment and the editorial staff of the paper under the publishing association, but the youth executive will have the option of checking the copy which pretains to their activity. We see this proposed move as a challenge and an opportunity which will do nothing but good for us.

.....
33
44

This sketch of the Vancouver local of the YSA will, we hope, help to give the Canadian section a clearer perspective of what the opportunities and fields of work are on the West Coast. The situation in Vancouver is a unique one, one which demands a lot of understanding, study, and patience. We look forward to any advice the other locals might have.

BOYCOTT WOOLWORTH'S!

Found in 1962 - NDT

Why we're here: This picket line is marching in solidarity with a nation-wide U.S. boycott of chain stores practicing segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, and WOOLWORTH'S IS ONE OF THEM! Negroes who go into Woolworth's in Birmingham are shoved into certain areas before being served or are refused service altogether. These stores operate a policy of discrimination simply on the basis of color. The boycott is sponsored by 25 major organizations including large unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO and Negro groups.

In the words of David Livingston, president of District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union:

"THIS WILL BE THE START OF A NATIONAL BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN ASKING ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL NOT TO BUY IN THESE STORES UNTIL THE BIRMINGHAM STORES ARE DE-SEGREGATED."

---Only last week in Birmingham, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was jailed while taking part in a protest march. This internationally known integration leader is a principal sponsor of the boycott campaign.

WOOLWORTH'S IS INTERNATIONAL SO LET THE BOYCOTT BE INTERNATIONAL AS WELL!

WE ARE APPEALING TO YOU NOT TO PURCHASE ANYTHING IN WOOLWORTH'S

WOOLWORTH'S ARE AN INTERNATIONAL CHAIN STORE. IF YOU, ALONG WITH HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF OTHERS ON THIS CONTINENT REFUSE TO BUY ANYTHING FROM WOOLWORTH'S, WOOLWORTH'S WILL BE HIT WHERE IT HURTS MOST -- IN ITS PROFITS!

BY SUCH ACTION WOOLWORTH'S WILL BE FORCED TO END ITS DISCRIMINATORY RACIST ACTIONS AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA.

Support THE HEROIC NEGRO freedom fighters in their struggle for democratic rights in the face of all kinds of violence and intimidation from racists and reactionaries!

Protest THE ACTIONS of these double-dealing companies who last September promised an end to discriminatory practices but who have since broken their word!

Demonstrate YOUR SUPPORT for civil rights and human dignity for all --in the U.S.A., in Canada, everywhere.

JOIN THE PICKET LINE!

Don't buy segregation!

SPONSORED BY METRO TORONTO COUNCIL N.D.Y. EXEC.

For Further Information: Allan Engler, Educational Director Metro Toronto New Democratic Youth, Apt. 40, 34 Heydon Park Rd., Toronto, Ont.

Found in 1963

TO ALL Members & Supporters of the NDP

COME AND HEAR the Case for the Defence
of the 10 expelled from the Party

IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY. THEN DECIDE FOR YOURSELF WHAT
MUST BE DONE IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR PARTY.

MEETING

Lansdowne Assembly Hall 8pm

10 LANSDOWNE (at Queen)

Thursday May 2

SPEAKERS: Dick Fidler, active in the NDP movement before its founding; delegate to both party and youth conventions; member of the provincial NDP council last year; former third vice-president of York East NDP constituency; active in U. of T. campus club.

Allan Engler, education director of the Metro NDY Council; formerly a vice-president; assistant director of Davenport constituency election campaign; member of the CCF-NDP for 9 years --former leader of the U. of Saskatchewan CCF Club, largest CCF university club in Canada.

Jim Onyschuk, president of West Toronto NDY club, delegate to metro council and 1963 provincial youth convention.

John Wilson, vice-president of Metro Council of NDY; executive member of Parkdale constituency NDP; youth delegate to last provincial and the founding federal convention; a member of the CCF-NDP since 1953.

Issued by Committee to Defend Democracy
in the NDP

Sec'ty John Wilson, 1167 Dundas St. E. Toronto, Ont. (phone 535-4960)

★ THE METRO TORONTO NEW DEMOCRATIC
YOUTH COUNCIL HAS BEEN DISSOLVED

★ 10 LEADING YOUTH --AND THERE ARE
MORE TO COME-- HAVE BEEN EXPELLED
FROM THE ONTARIO SECTION OF THE
PARTY & YOUTH

---NOT ONLY ARE THESE EXPULSIONS in violation of the autonomous rights of the NDY, and its constitution, but they have been carried out by the Provincial Executive of our party in flagrant denial of the most elementary principles of democracy.

---THE CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZATIONS (the Secretaries, that is) of which these youth have been hard working members, learned all about it in the mail-- as did the victims themselves. The expelled were not confronted with charges, evidence, witnesses-- in fact none of their most elementary rights were recognized. They were informed of their expulsions, and their "guilt" of the charges when they were told they might appeal to the provincial council. The ruling under which they were expelled was passed by the council only after the executive had carried out the expulsions.

The fate of the accused, who want to continue to work to build our movement, all the more following our poor showing on April 8, IS AT STAKE.

What the Party needs at this time above all is unity. The fate of the entire New Democratic Youth movement, the promise of the future of the adult party, IS AT STAKE.

Democracy, the party's most precious asset, IS AT STAKE.

THESE YOUTH, BARRED FROM ALL THE NORMAL CHANNELS THAT SHOULD BE OPEN TO THEM, HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO APPEAL TO YOU DIRECTLY.

We think every single member, every
constituency organization MUST DEMAND A HALT
AND THE FULL REINSTATEMENT OF ALL THE
EXPELLED

An Appeal

TO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY MEMBERS:

ELEVEN YOUNG SOCIALISTS have been expelled from the Ontario New Democratic Party and the New Democratic Youth. The reason offered for their expulsion is: "Membership in and support of another political party, namely the Young Socialist Alliance". The Provincial Executive has refused to give evidence, either now or at the time of the forthcoming appeal to the Provincial Council, to substantiate its charges. It has refused to present the evidence that these members are associated with the "Young Socialist Alliance", or to state why the "Young Socialist Alliance" should be regarded as another political party; rather it has insisted that they, the expelled, must prove themselves innocent. We appeal to the membership of the New Democratic Party to help us fight this abuse of the most elementary principles of democracy and justice.

The expelled are not Johnnie-come-latelies or interlopers. One of them has been in the CCF-NDP for ten years, another for nine --in the party longer than some of the people expelling them. These young people, who are accused of belonging to another political party, were in fact the leaders of the New Democratic Youth in Toronto.

John Wilson was vice-president of the Metro Council of New Democratic Youth Clubs, Toni Foster was last year's provincial vice-president of the Ontario NDY, and editor of the Metro Council newsletter. Allan Engler was Education Director of the Metro NDY. Others were delegates to the metro council, or were on their NDY club executives. These expulsions have beheaded our party's youth movement in Toronto. In fact, the executive formally did this when it also dissolved the Toronto Metro Youth Council.

But the expelled were active not only in the youth. John Glenn was a member of the Provincial council, Dick Fidler was a former member of the Provincial council and a third vice-president of the East York Riding Association. John Wilson was an executive member of the Parkdale Riding Association, Allan Engler was assistant director of the Davenport Federal Election Campaign in April.

While they have faithfully presented the NDP programme in public meetings and election campaigns, all the expelled were identified with demands for public ownership of industries, with opposition to NATO, with support for the Cuban revolution; in short, they were known as socialists. It is apparent that all the expelled were thrown out of the party for holding minority views.

The undemocratic procedure of the Executive has given this case a greater significance. George Cadbury has stated that these are only the first of a series of expulsions. We must stop the witch-hunt now, before other left-wingers are expelled. We must guarantee once and for all the democratic right of a member to a fair trial, the right of minority tendencies to freedom of expression within the party, and the autonomy of the youth section. You can fight for these principles by ASKING YOUR CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZATION TO DEMAND THAT THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE IMMEDIATELY REINSTATE ALL THE EXPELLED. The Provincial Executive must be told that our party cannot be built by expelling hard-working people. It must be told that our party should not be divided now that our party has suffered an election set-back. It must be told that in spite of differences we may have all supporters of the New Democratic Party should now unite against the common enemies of the workers and farmers of Canada to build the New Democratic Party, the party that will lead Canada to socialism.

----- WHAT YOU CAN DO -----

1. SPEAK TO THE EXPELLED: Phone Dick Fidler, HO5-9106, Al Engler, 531-7572, John Wilson, 535-4960, John Riddell, WA1-1796.
 2. WRITE YOUR PROTEST to Jim Bury, Provincial Secretary, 111 Eglinton Ave. East.
 3. PASS A RESOLUTION AGAINST THE EXPULSIONS in your constituency club.
-

Which way for the Democratic Left?

Found in 1963

Many who refer to themselves as the "Democratic Left" came to the New Democratic Party at the time of its founding. Some, in the less than three years experience since then, have become disillusioned with its prospects as a vehicle of effective social change and are beginning to search for an alternative medium through which their ideals can materialize. With this in mind they are beginning to look for new paths, which surprisingly even include the Liberal Party or formations that may develop around or within it, such as EPIC. But is there really any vehicle other than the NDP--a changed NDP to be sure--but still the NDP, at this time?

THE LIBERAL RECORD

Certainly the Liberal Party offers no perspective for social change--and not for the want of tries before now. Progressives, ginger groups, and legions of others have had their bones picked clean by the Liberal political machine. It was only a year or so ago that Nobel Prize winner Lester Pearson without so much as a by-your-leave of the lower layers of the Liberal Party machine, and in violation of all his previous pledges, agreed to the nuclear armament of Canada (and with typical Liberal chicanery--that it was necessary in order to disarm). Now we have the Liberal White Paper which violates earlier promises of this year that Canada would move along the road toward complete and controlled disarmament with its proposals that will only increase the lethal power of Canadian forces per man, increase efficiency, and cut down the unit cost of killing. Have the Liberals even uttered a word of dissent about the U.S. State Department's sponsored overflights of Cuba, or of its blockade of the island, or of its endangering world peace in Vietnam? Is it merely an accident that whenever a serious effort is made by labor to improve its living standards and conditions, or a real move is made to put modern medical knowledge at the service of man, that a Smallwood or a Thatcher turns up holding the Liberal Party reins?

Despite all pretence to the contrary, the Liberal Party is controlled lock, stock and barrel by the Big Business interests which dominate the Canadian economy as Wall Street's junior partners.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE N.D.P.?

The trouble with the NDP is certainly not that the present leadership is caught up in class concepts, in formulae which some think to be long outdated. The NDP leadership has eschewed all this and has even cynically and brutally expelled many who, as we, advocate that a socialist orientation be adopted by the party.

The facts are that the NDP leadership has adopted holus bolus all the rhetoric of liberalism--to such an extent that programmatically it has become scarcely distinguishable from the Liberal Party and its twin the Progressive Conservative Party.

What is wrong with the NDP is not its strong association with the organized labor movement. This has brought in the union brass, and all the machinations that go with their line of peaceful coexistence with capitalism, more than the union membership. But this can only be overcome by the union rank and file being won into the party and their developing as a powerful force for a new leadership in their unions and in the NDP. The worst error would be to throw out the labor baby with the bureaucratic bath water.

THE PERSPECTIVES

Is the "Democratic Left" to become an effective vehicle for social change? Then it cannot play around with the Liberal Party to become a transmission belt for policies that can only, through trickery and deception, end in taking Canada on U.S. coattails to nuclear destruction. Above all it must severely evaluate the first three years of the NDP, which more than anything have been a testing of its own probings and concepts. On the basis of our understanding of the past three years, the alternative is to grasp the critical, profoundly democratic, concepts of Marxism and apply them to Canada.

One thing is sure; whatever it has to offer, the Democratic Left can only achieve success by joining the labor and farm movements - the mass forces for progressive social change which are already firmly oriented to the NDP. Despite the NDP's serious shortcomings it remains, as a party, the only political vehicle through which the peoples' demands can be realized. By siding with labor's rank and file, supporting their demands, and by working with socialists and others in the NDP to formulate a program that will project a future that differs with the one big business has to offer, the Democratic Left has a meaningful role to play.

NDP Council Confirms Expulsion

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, MONDAY, FEB. 24, 1964 5

of 10 Young Radicals

Map Constituency Drive sses Will T For August Convention

The Ontario Council of the New Democratic Party yesterday closed ranks against the party's far left wing.

By confirming the expulsion of 10 young radicals—committed to total public ownership of major industry—the council turned decisively toward moderate economic and social planning that leaves room for both public and private enterprise.

The council, composed of the party's executive plus delegates from more than 100 provincial ridings in Ontario, does not have policy-making power. However, its decisions will have a strong influence on the annual convention of the NDP in Toronto, Aug. 10 to 12.

The council met for two days behind closed doors at NDP provincial headquarters, Eglinton Avenue East, to draft a grass-roots program of policy-making in the constituencies before the August convention.

In addition, the council heard the appeals of the 10 alleged Trotskyites-Marxists who reject the orthodox Soviet version of communism but accept Communist principles—who were read out of the NDP last April.

The NDP provincial executive expelled John Wilson, James Onyschchuk, Allan Engler, Richard Fidler, Toni Foster and five others last year for belonging to a group called the Young Socialist Alliance. The NDP constitution forbids members to belong to any other political party at the same time.

Spokesmen for the group last year refused to confirm or deny that they belonged to the YSA and accused the NDP executive of conducting a witch-hunt.

They lodged an appeal from the executive's decision to the

recent incident of the hotel-room negotiations between prominent New Democrats and leaders of the Liberal Party."

NDP officials, questioned after the meeting, were close-mouthed about the possibility of NDP-Liberal talks in the future.

"Matters of this kind would have to be discussed by the convention next August," James Bury, Ontario NDP secretary, said.

Donald C. MacDonald, provincial NDP leader, has publicly repudiated the suggestion of an NDP-Liberal merger. He has indicated that he would favor a new alignment in which the NDP would be the nucleus of a reform party, attracting liberal elements from both old-line parties.

(Mr. MacDonald told the Ontario Council of the United Packinghouse Workers of America yesterday that realignment of Canada's political parties will not be possible until left-wing Liberals and Progressive Conservatives renounce political slush funds.

(He said the NDP is prepared to join forces with anyone wishing to share in building a democratically organized, democratically operated and democratically financed party of the left. But members of the two old parties have been unwilling to free themselves from the dominance of business interests.)

Mr. Bury said the council decided on The Challenge of Science and Social Change in Ontario as the theme for the party's August convention.

A member of working papers are to be prepared on such subjects as the effects of automation, job training and retraining and the use of leisure time, Mr. Bury said.

These documents will establish

Spokesmen for the group last year refused to confirm or deny that they belonged to the YSA and accused the NDP executive of conducting a witch-hunt.

They lodged an appeal from the executive's decision to the full council.

George Cadbury, president of the Ontario NDP, declined to make any comment on the expulsion of the 10.

Allan Engler, one of the 10, said in a statement "that opinion of council delegates had been sharply divided on the expulsion.

In the case of one member, he said, the vote was 29 for expulsion, 20 against.

"Throughout the tense meeting the executive had made it clear that any vote against the expulsions would be considered a demonstration of lack of confidence in the leadership of the party," Mr. Engler said.

"The expelled youth were active in the struggle within the New Democratic Party to adopt a socialist program of opposition to the present Canadian military alliance commitments, public ownership of major industry and support of the colonial revolution throughout the world," the Engler statement declared.

"Undaunted by their exclusion from the ranks of the NDP, they are now publishing a four-page monthly tabloid, Young Socialist Forum, which supports the NDP unconditionally and calls for a socialist program for the party."

Mr. Engler said that no evidence had been presented to show that the YSA existed, that it was a political party or that the 10 belonged to it.

He said one of the expelled 10, Dick Fidler, who now lives in Montreal, is a member in good standing of the Quebec NDP.

Paraphrasing Mr. Fidler's remarks to the Ontario NDP council yesterday, Mr. Engler said the Montreal resident "pointed out that attacks sponsored by the executive on the left wing of the party . . . help to create an atmosphere in which the extreme right wing is able to compromise the party and its leadership, as in the

A member of working papers are to be prepared on such subjects as the effects of automation, job training and retraining and the use of leisure time, Mr. Bury said.

These documents will establish a framework for resolutions to be worked out in the constituency associations and presented to the August convention.

Party Called Dull

Special to The Globe and Mail

Oshawa—The New Democratic Party last night was described by one of its own members as a dull and complacent organization.

Russell Rak, an Oshawa automobile worker, told a meeting of the New Democratic Association for Ontario riding that few NDP candidates will be elected to Queen's Park unless the situation is changed.

"All the party is, now, is an election machine. All we are worrying about now is how to run the next election campaign when it comes along," he said.

A motion introduced by Mr. Rak calling for pamphlets to be printed and distributed on important political activities was tabled for consideration by the executive.

Mr. Rak said the NDP was not heard from when the atomic warheads for the Bomarc missiles were shipped into Canada.

2 Stores Lose \$145 to Thief

Two Toronto stores were robbed Saturday. A man with a revolver robbed mot's Discount Store West near of \$125 at about Police said up to a clerk 53, and der fled on foot. In the \$20 from 42, a c' store Pap and its leadership, as in the tin

STOP the WITCH HUNT NOW!

From in 1964 archive

MORE EXPULSIONS

ELEVEN SOCIALISTS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY. These eleven originally were expelled from the British Columbia section of the New Democratic Youth in October 1962. The NDY executive then brought charges against them in the adult party, and a trial committee was set up by the NDP executive in June 1963. This Trial Committee adjourned after hearing the first witness. The defendants were given no opportunity to cross-examine this witness, nor to submit any kind of defence. The eleven thought that the proceedings against them had been dropped, since they heard nothing more about the charges for almost a year. At the beginning of May, however, each of them received the following letter from Ernest Hall, Provincial Secretary of the B.C.-NDP:

"Dear ---

At the last meeting of the Provincial Executive on Friday, April 17, 1964, (after hearing the report of the Judicial Committee which was set up to enquire into the matter of the recent disciplinary proceedings in the NDY) it was M/S/C that the eleven youths mentioned in the NDY's request for disciplinary action be suspended, and that the youths concerned be advised that they can appear, individually, before the B.C. New Democratic Party Executive at its next meeting.

You were expelled from the Youth Movement by action of the NDY Executive on November 18, 1962. Such decision was subsequently upheld by the Council and Convention of the NDY.

The charges the Senior Movement are discussing are the same as those brought against you during the three hearings mentioned above.

The question of your standing in the Senior Movement has been the subject of debate and enquiry since receiving the NDY Executive request that the NDP take disciplinary action. This long period of enquiry has now resulted in the Senior Executive voting for suspension on April 17. In fairness to all concerned we must now finalize the matter constitutionally. Accordingly, the Executive has set aside a period from 9:30 a.m. to 12 noon on May 23, in the boardroom at 517 E. Broadway, to interview you and the others referred to.

You will have the opportunity to appear INDIVIDUALLY and give an explanation as you see it, to the charges against you, and to appeal if you so desire. Please note that these will be individual appearances --- the Executive is not prepared to hear lawyers and spokesmen. What the NDP is concerned with is to determine whether, in the light of past activities and your explanation, your membership is of benefit to the movement."

The crudity of this letter speaks for itself.

The May 23 meeting of the Provincial Executive of the B.C.-NDP officially expelled the 11 youth from the party, and these expulsions were confirmed one week later by the party's Provincial Council.

BEHIND THE PHONEY CHARGES

The Expelled have consistently denied that they have in any way opposed the NDP, or acted against its interests; they have demanded to be presented with proof of their disloyalty, but have never received any real evidence of the charges against them. The whole expulsions have been carried out in a completely undemocratic manner, reminiscent of the provisions of the Ontario "Police State" Bill.

What then is the cause of these expulsions, if the official charges have no basis in fact? The eleven have answered this question in their statement "Why We Are Being Expelled" -- "The Executive is expelling us, not because we are disloyal, but because we have consistently opposed

BEHIND THE PHONEY CHARGES (Continued)

their policy of purging all inklings of socialism from the party's program...we expelled youth have campaigned to expose and defeat this 'liberal' attack against the socialist heritage of the party. We believe that the NDP must base itself squarely on the working people and must identify with their everyday struggles against unemployment, low wages, rising profits, profit gouging, and the war drive. We have struggled within the NDP for such a program. We called for the nationalization of basic industries, opposition to NATO, and to the war drive; support for those workers and unions who strike for better conditions and wages; support for the colonial revolution against imperialism, especially the Cuban revolution, which has taken a socialist path."

These expulsions, just like the ones earlier in Ontario, are political attempts to eliminate the socialist opposition to the present NDP "liberal" leadership. Faced with the stunning failure of the party to beat the Socreds in B.C., the defeat of the only labor government in North America, the irresponsibility of the B.C. party executive in publically threatening to close down the provincial section for lack of funds, and the failure of the NDP as a whole to break out of the old CCF rut, they launch a drive against those who advocate that these policies of defeat be radically altered.

THE N.D.P. TODAY

(3)

The recent furor over merger with the big-business Liberal Party is a further illustration of the lack of clear differentiation of the NDP from the old-line political machines. We hold that the NDP, with its links to organized labor, is fundamentally different from the other parties; that it poses the possibility of a government in the interest of the working people rather than the profiteering few. It poses the possibility of an economy owned and democratically controlled by workers and farmers; the elimination of want, of unemployment, of the threat of automation, and the ominous arms race. From its birth we have supported the NDP -- many of us were active in its founding, through the New Party clubs. We will continue to support it, for we are convinced that it is the genuine vehicle of social change in Canada today.

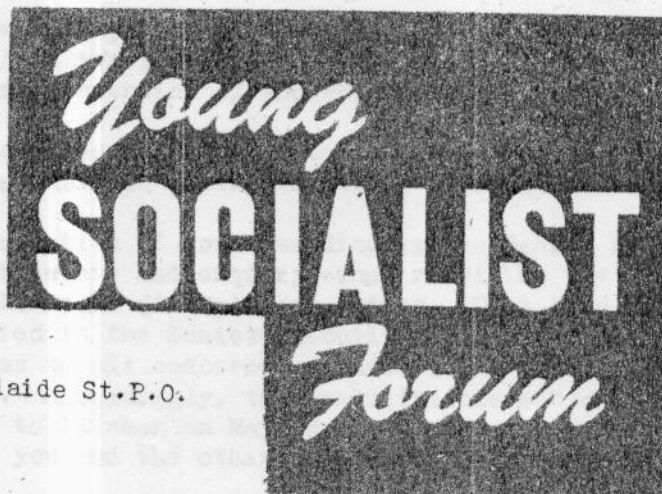
Nevertheless, we maintain our right to criticize the policies of the present leadership, which have sabotaged the tremendous potential of this movement. We continue to call for a clear socialist program for the NDP, and a consistent campaign to win power, to establish in Ottawa a Workers' and Farmers' Government. As a first step, those expelled for propounding these ideas must be fully reinstated. The internal purge must be halted before it further weakens the party. Political differences must be fought out and decided by open discussion within the NDP, not by expulsions.

We call upon NDP members and supporters to continue to support the NDP, the Canadian labor party. We call on them to demand the reinstatement of those expelled, and the end of the witch hunt within the party.

We call on them to join us in the struggle within the NDP to gain a socialist program, to make the party an effective voice of Canadian workers.

PUBLISHED BY

WRITE
TO ---



IN TORONTO: Box 939, Adelaide St.P.O.
IN VANCOUVER: Box 2518

Strike at U of M

by Dick Fidler

MONTREAL—In an impressive display of militancy and solidarity, the students of the Université de Montréal held a one-day strike here March 24th, to back up their demands for administration recognition of the **Association Générale des Etudiants (AGEUM)** as a union representing the student body. They also demanded annual publication by the university of its financial situation (the U de M is financed 80% by public funds), the granting of facilities to the AGEUM for its projected cooperative store, and "cogestion"—joint administration-student management of the committees in charge of the Social Center and sports activities. Negotiations with the administration had been going on for as long as eight years on some of these subjects, with no concessions from the authorities.

The results of a March 19th campus-wide referendum showed 68.5% of those voting in favor of a strike, with only 28.1% opposed. In an emergency resolution, the Montreal Labor Council supported the strike and called on the University to negotiate a collective labor agreement with the AGEUM, including representation with full rights on the Board of Governors. It also demanded that the provincial government accept the incorporation of the Association. The **Presse Etudiante Nationale**, representing some 90 French-language student pub-

lications, also gave its full support to the strike.

Although the University authorities had done all in their considerable power to block the demands of the students, they pretended "astonishment at the precipitation of the AGEUM". They tried to blackmail the students by harping on the setbacks to professor's timetables, higher costs of lost salaries, lost study-time, etc. which the strike would involve.

But at 6:30 a.m., March 24th, 400 pickets moved into position at all entrances to the campus. Only heating plant and social center employees, as well as those professors who had to continue scientific experiments, were allowed in—they had been issued passes the day before. Armed with walkie-talkies, the student leaders maintained close contact between all picket points. To pass the time at one road-block, some students set up nets and played volleyball; at another point, they formed a giant chess board on the road, with rocks as chessman. Until 5 p.m. when the strike ended, the campus was completely deserted—not even the Rector, Msgr. Lussier, was allowed to enter the university.

It was significant that the engineering students, who had attempted to sabotage the last strike (held in 1960 to support union recognition of the employees of the social center), now formed a large proportion of the pickets.

Young SOCIALIST Forum

April-May, 1964

Box 939, Adelaide St. P.O.,
Toronto 1, Ont.
— 50c per 10 issues —
Price 5 Cents

August 7, 1964.

Four young socialist women, visitors to Sault Ste. Marie, are calling a picket line to protest U. S. intervention in Viet Nam and Canadian government support for the intervention, at the New Dominion Building, Queen Street, at 1 PM on Saturday, August 8. They are on a tour across Ontario selling subscriptions to the Workers Vanguard, a socialist paper which supports the New Democratic Party.

They feel, as Mr. Douglas of the NDP stated recently, that the U.S., not a signatory of the Geneva agreements has no right to intervene in Viet Nam, particularly since one of the clauses of that agreement prohibits ~~having~~ foreign troops there. The U. S. has over 15,000 military "advisers" there now. Mrs. Pat Mitchell, speaking for the group, stated that the U. S. government is propping up a discredited regime which has no support among the South Viet Nameese people. She urged all persons who opposed U. S. intervention to join in the protest.

JEAN RANDS

Jean Rands is 21 years old. She has no experience in big business or real estate - none of the experience that has corrupted the present administrators of City Hall. In workingclass politics she does have experience. She was Vice President of the Sask. Young CCF in 1960-61, a delegate to the founding convention of the New Democratic Party in 1961, and Secretary of the Sask. New Democratic Youth in 1961-62. She was a founding member of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND) and has been active in the movement against the war in Vietnam. Jean Rands is now B. C. editor of Young Socialist Forum, the only socialist youth magazine in Canada, which supports the NDP and opposes the war in Vietnam.



Jean Rands is sponsored by Young Socialist Forum and endorsed by the League for Socialist Action.

The Vancouver Labor Council has endorsed the following candidates. The League for Socialist Action urges that you vote for them.

Mrs. J. MOHART

N. LEVI

F.A. WILES

R.P. WALKER

H. RANKIN

O. JOHNSON



(Labor donated)

campaign headquarters

1208 Granville 682-9332

JEAN RANDS FOR MAYOR



Civic elections are just as important, and just as political, as federal and provincial elections. The war in Vietnam and the anti-labor drive will only be ended if we oppose them on every level - from City Hall to Parliament Hill. The questions of land speculation, high food prices, and inadequate housing - all important issues to the workingclass - can be dealt with effectively at the municipal level.

Vote Socialist

City Hall is presently controlled by Liberals, Tories and Socreds. It is absurd to say that candidates like Rathie and Campbell, who are both millionaires associated with one of the anti-labor political parties, are "non-partisan" or "non-political." The only alternative to big business control of City Hall is a New Democratic Party or Trade Union slate. However, since neither the NDP nor the labor movement has nominated a candidate for mayor, I am running to present a socialist, pro-labor alternative to the two millionaires.

oppose the war against Vietnam

The war in Vietnam is the most urgent social question facing North Americans today. The debate on Block 42, Block 52, and Project 200 will be quite irrelevant if we allow the escalation of the war in Vietnam to continue to the point of nuclear disaster.

The war against the Vietnamese people can be ended only if people everywhere, and on all levels of government, oppose it. Speaking in Regina during the International Days of Protest last August, T. C. Douglas, leader of the NDP, warned, "As Canadians we should be shouting 'for God's sake stop' for in this critical hour of human history, silence is criminal."

The fact that the North American public have allowed the war to go this far is due largely to the lies and misconceptions put forward by the daily press. Vancouver is not free from this.

Both newspapers owned by Pacific Press are anti-labor, anti-socialist, and support the U.S. war against Vietnam. Chairman of Pacific Press is F. B. Brown, who is also Chairman of Kelly Douglas, Vice Chairman of Straits Towing, President of Van West Logging, Union Steamships, Inland Natural Gas, Vice President of the Bank of Nova Scotia and a director of Nelsons Laundry, Capilano Timber, Burns Food, B. C. Transformer Co., North American Life Insurance, B. C. Tel, and National Trust.

for a working class press

The working people can hardly expect factual reporting on the rise of food prices when Brown is Chairman of the biggest food wholesaler in the province, Kelly Douglas, and a director of a major food processor, Burns. They cannot expect unbiased accounts of the shortage of public housing when Brown is director of North American Life and National Trust which hold hundreds of millions of dollars worth of mortgages. In fact, they can expect Vancouver's papers to side with busin-

ess on every issue, from housing to the war in Vietnam.

A socialist civic administration could encourage the establishment of a workingclass daily newspaper in Vancouver, responsible to the trade union movement, which would give the facts about the brutal, anti-democratic war in Vietnam. Such a newspaper would end the biased reporting of the struggles of the labor movement and regularly carry the strikers' story during industrial disputes.



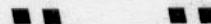
One of the four trade unionists jailed for contempt of court for disobeying an injunction against picketing during the Lenkurt Electric strike, pointed out that the rights of the trade union movement are of concern to everyone in this society. Tom Clarke, in his statement to the court, declared, "As you are well aware, some of the just rights that society as a whole enjoys today, and you too, were won by the blood of working men and women. The employer has always used all at his disposal to retard the growth of trade unions and free thought, resorting to murder, so-called legal execution, troops, police, spies, stool-pigeons, scabs, and what have you - all to no avail.

"In this day and age, the employer has become a little more sophisticated and does not generally resort to the tactics of old but he still retains this inclination. He now uses the courts to do what he cannot accomplish himself."

fight anti-labor injunctions

In 1962, during the strike at Allied Engineering, the city police broke the picket line with dogs. The city police brought out the dog which attacked Tom Clarke, making him 'the first known labor picket to be attacked by a police dog in Canada.' The action of the city police is the direct responsibility of the Mayor and the city council.

A civic government which defended the rights of the labor movement would strengthen unionists in the struggle against anti-labor legislation. It would be as much a boon to workers as the present administration is to employers.



The present administration of Vancouver is not at all skimpy in providing public funds to big business to develop downtown Vancouver. The policy of City Hall makes it impossible to plan the city to meet the needs of the whole population. A socialist administration would eliminate speculation in land, which has led to a situation where a lot for a house in Vancouver costs \$6,000 to \$8,000, by having all idle land and all downtown land owned by

the city itself, and leased to businesses and individuals. Downtown land would be built up and developed by the city, with buildings leased to private interests. Plots of land would be leased to individual home owners at a nominal cost plus the cost of services provided by the city. A 99-year, renewable lease could be given by the city for about 1/4 of what it now costs to buy land - and the city could still make a profit.

for public housing

Although public housing costs the city nothing, only 1350 units have been built in the past 20 years. There is now a waiting list of 2230 people for this housing. The capital costs of public housing are paid entirely by the provincial and federal governments and the city pays only 1/8 of the rent subsidy which is more than offset by the taxes the city collects from the property. The lack of public housing is not due to lack of funds, but to the fact that the people who run City Hall are tied up with real estate interests and would be competing with themselves if they embarked on a program of public housing. The men who make tremendous profits from renting apartments are not likely to provide us with the alternative of low-cost public housing. Only a civic administration which represents the interests of the working people - only a socialist civic administration - will carry out a program of public housing to meet the needs of the city.

The irrationality of the present system is shown by the fact that housing starts are down 45% compared to last year, while the housing shortage is critical. At the same time, in the forest industry, the men who produce the raw materials for housing are suffering the worst unemployment in several years. Over 1300 members of the Vancouver IWA local have been laid off already. It's clear that the policy of the civic administration on housing, as on other issues, is developed not in the interests of the overwhelming majority of working people, but in the interests of the small minority who live by rents and dividends.

The present housing shortage in Vancouver can only be explained by the power of real estate interests in City Hall. Mayor Rathie declares that public housing is "like creeping socialism." In a sense it is. An adequate low-cost housing program would cut so sharply into the profits of our local millionaires that their power in the city would be lessened. Land speculation, rents and mortgages are one of the most important sources of profit across Canada. The biggest land-owner in Vancouver is also the biggest corporation in Canada - the CPR (which, incidentally, will make fantastic profits on Project 200).

for city owned supermarkets

The outcry against the high cost of living, particularly the rising price of food, should be directed towards action in the current civic elections. While the price of food rises, the proportion that goes to the farmer is dropping almost as quickly. The mark-up on food at the wholesale level is 12 1/2 %; at the retail level it is 50%. A socialist civic administration could cut the price of food in half by establishing municipally-owned processing and packaging plants and municipally-owned supermarkets to sell food at cost. It would also demand that the privately-owned supermarkets open their books to the public, so that people can see what proportion of their food dollar goes to profits, advertising, etc. Food is a basic essential of life and should not be a source of tremendous profit.

a socialist civic government would:

1. Oppose the war in Vietnam and the anti-labor drive through a workingclass daily newspaper.
2. Refuse to use the city police to break strikes and intimidate trade unionists.
3. End land speculation by having all idle and downtown land owned by the city, and downtown land planned and developed by the city.
4. Launch a massive public housing program to meet the needs of the city.
5. Extend equality of educational opportunity by making texts and lunches free, and establishing pre-schools and day-care centers to give all children of pre-school age an equal opportunity to learn and develop, and to release their mothers to be full productive members of society.
6. Encourage, rather than outlaw, student participation in politics and organization of political clubs within the high schools.
7. Establish a rapid transit system as a free public service.
8. Distribute the tax burden more equitably by a tax exemption of \$12,000 on owner-occupied homes.

where will the money come from?

The employment that a public housing program would give to woodworkers is reason enough to develop it. Aside from that, the city could cut rents in half and still make money. Public housing removes the profit of the land speculators, the profit on the short-term loans to contractors, the profit of the contractors, the profit of the mortgage company and most of the profit of the landlord.

Municipally-owned supermarkets could obviously pay for themselves and provide foods at greatly reduced cost through eliminating profit.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON Vietnam

The war in Vietnam is one of the most significant events in the world today. During election time it is important for serious political parties to take a stand on this crucial issue. The NDP's position was clearly outlined by Tommy Douglas in a speech to the House of Commons April 2, 1965 (page 13106 of Hansard)

"The attempt," said Tommy Douglas, "to make the war in Vietnam a holy crusade against communism is an invitation to swallow propaganda wholesale and shut one's eyes to the facts."

"...when in 1953 the United States could see that the French were no longer going to be able to hold on in Vietnam, they brought in Diem who set up in South Vietnam as the head of the government, a government that was dictatorial and repressive, a government which began by abolishing land reform, land reform in a country where 80% of the land is owned by absentee landlords; abolished local election; and jailed without trial not only communists but thousands of non-communists who had belonged to democratic political parties up until that time. It is hardly to be wondered that the National Liberation Front was able to gather a great bulk of the support of the people of South Vietnam against the dictatorial government of Diem."

"...From the very beginning it (the S. Vietnam gov't) has been a puppet government supported militarily and financially by the United States, and to say that the United States was invited in by South Vietnam is like saying that Edgar Bergen was invited to dinner by Charlie McCarthy. The fact, of course, is that the reason the United States had to intervene is because the puppet government it had set up did not have the support of its own people, and that today two-thirds of Vietnam is occupied by the National Liberation Front who collect taxes, who run the villages and operate the greater part of the country. . . ."

"They (N. Vietnamese) have no more control over the Viet Cong than Stalin had over Mao Tse Tung."

"It was the United States and South Vietnam who first violated the Geneva Accords by refusing to agree to elections in 1956, as had been provided for under the Geneva Accords."

"...We in this party are prepared to support collective security to resist aggression, but we don't believe that any country has the right to use military power to force dictatorial and discredited regimes upon people who are seeking the right to self-determination. We do not want some new form of colonialism masquerading as an anti-communist crusade."

Young New Democrats call upon youth to help the NDP win a majority in parliament. JOIN THE YND AND CAMPAIGN IN THE ELECTION! Only by rallying the Canadian people to elect a government committed to ending the war in Vietnam can Canada have an effect on U.S. policy.

elect an NDP government
END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

924-9705

Those interested contact YND Provincial Office, 11½ Spadina Rd.

Young Socialist Forum
32 Cecil Street
Toronto 2B, Ontario

Dear Friends,

For four years Young Socialist Forum has been published to win Canadian youth to socialism, to explain the struggle for a better life taking place in Canada and around the world. We have defended and explained the achievements of the Cuban revolution as an example of the methods and successes of this struggle, we have defended the Vietnamese peoples right to self-determination and freedom from U.S. military intervention in their land, we have analysed the educational system in Canada and our readers and supporters have made YSF an important part of the fight of Canadian high school and university students for a democratic school system, we have tried to win youth support for the aims of the labor movement in Canada and for the success of labor's political party, the New Democratic Party.

YSF's activities have now entered a new stage. In July, supporters of YSF, jointly with the Quebec-based Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, founded a new socialist youth movement, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. We felt called on to do this because of the inability of other existing youth movements of the left to take part in and lead the radicalizing struggles of Canadian youth. Thus we felt that we had to form the YS/LJS to organize and effectively channel this growing radicalization, to participate in the anti-Vietnam-war movement, to build it into a mass movement to end the Liberal government's support for the war, to intervene in the fight of students for student control of their educational system.

To enable us to do these things, of course, we must have financial resources. Thus the founding conference of the YS/LJS decided to launch a fund drive from August 15 to October 10. The drive has many aims, its goal of \$3,500 is necessary for our new organization to maintain headquarters, to staff its headquarters -- but most of all, to publish informational and educational material to assist our over all work. The central theme of our fund drive is to expand our official publication, Young Socialist Forum.

We want to expand the format of YSF from its present 7"x10" size to 8 1/2"x11". This expansion will make it possible for us to deal with more important issues at more length. In this way we can keep abreast of the growing radicalization among Canadian youth, a radicalism the breadth of which is indicated by the growing readership of YSF and our ability to form the only Canada-wide socialist youth movement, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

We would like to ask our supporters to participate in the fund drive. We appeal to the readers of YSF, who appreciate the work that it has done in the past and who wish to see it continue, now as the publication of the YS/LJS, to win Canadian youth to the program of socialism, by contributing to the YS/LJS fund drive.

Fraternally,

G. A. Porter

Gary Porter
Editor

Dec. 13, 1965

Dear comrades,

During the holiday period we are going to be carrying and participating in some very important events. Aside from the movement's Christmas and New Year's events, there is the Student Assembly on Dec. 28-29.

Student Assembly

This assembly promises to be an important step forward in uniting and broadening the student anti-war movement. We see this as being true for both the campus and high school sections of the student anti-war movement. There are less than two weeks left and only one week of school, for building the assembly. For the next two weeks the building of the assembly will take top priority in our work. As consistent anti-war activists we play a key role in determining the success of this action. The whole local will have to pitch in the distributions, posterings, phonings, and planning. High school distributions will take place all next week. Monday and Tuesday nights have been scheduled as postering nights. The postering will be organized out of the SAEWW office.

Christmas Party

We're having our annual Christmas Party again this year! This is the most important social event of the year for the Toronto local, the one to which we bring all our contacts and friends. This year's program will include an "original dramatic presentation", singing of Marxmas carols, good music to dance to (new records or maybe even a band!) eats and excellent company.

We want to have the best decorations ever this year, so we're starting them a week in advance. If you or any of your contacts have Christmas decorations, bring them Sat 16 to the Decorate-the-Tree open house. The open house should be a good building social for the party.

Free speech ralley

We won the first round in the fight to maintain free speech in City Hall Square. Now we're well into the second round. This Sat., the 16th, there will be a Ralley against the proposed by-law. It will take place in City Hall Square at 1 pm. The leaflet enclosed shows the breadth of the speakers involved. This fight is an important one for both the anti-war and labor movements. In order to make this a full mobilization of the local the executive has moved the local meeting back to 2.30.

House Teams

Week Dec 16-23

Jeff - local office

Bill - washrooms

Gord - kitchen

Gene - furnace & hallways

Nonie - Hall

Week Dec 23-30

Diane - local office

Jacque - kitchen

Ken Wolf - furnace, hallways, garbage

Tom - washrooms

Arnie - Hall

young socialist forum

32 Cecil Street,
Toronto 2B,
September 1/66

Dear Friend,

This fall will mark the fifth year that Young Socialist Forum has been bringing the ideas of socialism to Canadian youth.

Throughout its pages, YSF has tried to bring radical youth into the New Democratic Party and the New Democratic Youth, and to build the socialist current within these organizations. YSF has campaigned for a broad anti-war movement capable of mounting an effective effort to end the war in Vietnam and Canadian complicity in it. YSF has provided analytical articles on Vietnam and the colonial revolution, reviews of the history of the Canadian people, and interviews with leading activists in the labor and student movements.

H.W. Herridge has written about NATO and the NDP. Jim Harding has discussed the New Left. Ed Chukukere has written on the Rhodesian struggle and the African revolution. In this way, we have provided a badly needed platform for the expression of socialist views.

By selling our paper on a national scale, we perform the crucial function of bringing socialist ideas to our generation. YSF holds regular forums in Toronto and Vancouver where youth discuss the problems of socialism and democracy. YSF has published a pamphlet, WHO WILL CHANGE THE WORLD, which has just gone through a second printing, and we are preparing another one, WHO RULES CANADA, an analysis of Porter's Vertical Mosaic. During January and February of this year, YSF's editor made a national tour, speaking on campuses from Ontario to British Columbia.

In the last year alone, since YSF has been published in a magazine format, our subscription base has increased 400%. Our success and influence is attested to by the many people who read and support YSF, and attend our public meetings.

We feel what we are doing is important. The youth involved in putting YSF out are contributing time and money so that youth across this country will have the opportunity to hear a different, a socialist point of view. But it is not possible to continue the socialist educational work we are doing without financial support.

The only source of money we have is ourselves and our supporters. We are not subsidized by anyone. If you feel that it is important that the students and young workers of Canada have the chance to come into contact with socialist ideas, if you feel that the work YSF has done in the past should be continued and expanded, we call on you to make a contribution to our financial drive. If we are to continue publishing YSF, maintaining our headquarters, and producing pamphlets, we will need a minimum of \$2,500 for the coming year. The financial drive will last from Sept. 17 to Oct. 31. Any contribution you can make will be more than welcome.

Fraternally,



John Riddell
Editor

GIVE STUDENTS A VOICE!

Support JOHN RIDDELL for Board of Education

WARD 4 TORONTO

"High schools are run like totalitarian states!" This is the admission of the chairman of the Toronto Board of Education, Barry Lowes. Students, whose education is supposedly the purpose of the school system, are hounded by petty regulations, arbitrary discipline, and driven out of the school system by exorbitant university tuition.

Early this year, a group of high school students in North York presented a petition to their Board of Education for the right to form political clubs in the schools. The Board not only refused their request; it refused to accept their petition or hear their brief. This is only too typical of a school system where students, who see best what is wrong with the schools, have no voice in educational decisions. The purpose of my campaign is to give students a voice in the present elections. The basis of my program is DEMOCRACY IN THE SCHOOLS!

JOIN IN OUR CAMPAIGN!

My campaign is unique in that it is entirely run by young people--from writing the program to raising the money and printing and distributing the leaflets. Join with the YOUTH FOR JOHN RIDDELL to help carry the campaign! Come to our election headquarters at 32 Cecil St. and help us put up posters, distribute leaflets, and plan the campaign.

tell us what you think!

Call our headquarters (tel. 921-4627) and tell us your ideas for better schools. Tell us what's wrong with your school, and what you think should be improved.

Yours truly,



John Riddell,
Candidate for School
Trustee, Ward 4

(SEE OVER)

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS | |
| College | 32 cecil st. tel: 921-4627 |
| CECIL ST | |
| Spadina | |

Found in 1986 - page 5 only

DRAFT PRESS RESOLUTION

Submitted by the
(45-4) - National Executive Committee

1. The re-orientation of our press by the first Y S Convention has been amply justified by events. Young Socialist Forum has become the leading radical magazine in Canada and has established us as the socialists. Our circulation has expanded far more than we expected. Our paid circulation has expanded from about 750 to an average of over 2000 copies per issue. Our subscription base, in spite of the large number of expirations at the beginning of this year, is four times as large as that of the newspaper YSF.

This improvement in our influence and circulation has resulted from the change to a more attractive format and the reorientation of content towards propagandistic material. But these changes only served as a basis for the really decisive factor, the reorientation of our whole movement towards effective utilization of the press.

This serious attitude towards our press was expressed by the 1965 press document as follows:

"Only a press can centralize our actions throughout the breadth of the country and in all our fields of political action--from NDY work, to campus propaganda, to high school agitation, and to solidarizing ourselves with radical youth outside of our centres.

"No individual can speak to as many people, either through individual contact work or speeches, as a press can reach. No individual can be as detailed as the press can. And most important, a press, unlike the spoken word, is a collective effort--the carefully reasoned effort of our most experienced comrades."

Our attitude to the press contrasts sharply with that of our opponents. The NDY has been completely unable to establish even an internal newsletter on a regular basis. The Communist Party youth are very reticent about pushing SCAN -- and the magazine has generally had no distinguishable political line. SUPA's newsletter serves primarily as an outlet for the new left's frustrations.

It is no accident that Alberta NDY president Novakowski, in a report to the NDY Federal Council, calls for a regular publication, bemoaning the fact that "the League for Socialist Action, a minority element within the NDY, puts out an extremely good, regular, external publication."

Our press is the central public expression of our movement. It presents our line. For these reasons, the production and circulation of YSF is our movement's most important single task.

2. The 1965 Press Document projected YSF's orientation as follows:
"YSF must appeal to all three areas of our work -- high school, campus and NDY. The latter is the primary arena, and YSF must be oriented first to NDYers. It must appeal to youth in the anti-war movement and pose our alternative to their ideology. But the paper must also take into account high school and university students who have demonstrated their opposition to the blatant injustices of capitalism in some way, but have made no organizational commitment."

3. The steady decline of the NDY and the considerable changes in the nature of the work of our movement necessitate a re-evaluation of this orientation. In large measure, the press has reflected the changing nature of our work already.

The content of YSF is determined by the nature of our tasks as a movement, and by the audience we are attempting to reach. No longer is this audience primarily, or even largely, in the NDY. Our experience over the past

Idealist philosophy penetrates many fields of study. Here are some typical arguments. Do these represent idealism? Why? Is there any truth in them?

1. Society consists of people who think, act, desire, and are dominated by ideas, thoughts, opinions. If people would have new views on what is the right way to act, new concepts of morality; if they could be educated to have more enlightened opinions, this would lead to the transformation of society.

2. If everything including people is made of matter, then people have no more freedom than a falling stone. But a human can decide either to take one road or another while a rock has no will at all. Therefore a human is unpredictable or else he is not free, and therefore the movement of society which is the result of the combined action of society is also unpredictable. Materialists who try to work out social laws deny the free will of individuals.

If materialists really believed that socialism will evolve from capitalism as surely as an oak evolves from an acorn they wouldn't have to choose to strive to bring about this transformation.

3. We can observe a certain lawfulness in the phenomena around us. Night follows day, bananas do not suddenly grow on raspberry bushes. The planets move regularly and smoothly on their courses. See how cunningly and skilfully the eye of an animal is constructed, and with what planfulness... And in human society, does not the entire course of evolution move towards the great goal of communism? All things have an object, which may or may not be known to us, but which consists in an eternal process of perfection. In this case natural law is a purposeful law. Bananas grow on banana trees because banana trees are the best trees adapted to the needs of bananas for sunlight and nutrition. It's all planned. If so, God must have planned it.

4. If people's ideas and morals are determined by their social position, e.g. capitalists think communism is bad because it will hurt them, can the ideas of one class be more "truthful" than those of another? If they are both merely expressing their own interests? Is materialism just a philosophy which justifies the working class changing society or can we say that it is true (or at least closer to reality than idealism).

5. Are religion and idealism in general reactionary philosophies? Why? Is it possible that religion at one time could have been a forward step in human thought?

6. Throughout most of history materialism has been a persecuted minority point of view. Why?

- - - - -

MATERIALISM vs. IDEALISM

What are the essential principles of materialism which mark it off from all other tendencies in philosophy? What are its distinctive features which enable us to recognize a materialist thinker and to classify a person as reasoning along materialist lines? Let us list them in a very summary manner.

1. The basic proposition of materialism refers to the nature of reality, regardless of the existence of mankind. It states that matter is the primordial substance, the essence, of reality. Everything comes from matter and its movements and is based upon matter. This thought is expressed in the phrase; "Mother Nature." This signifies in materialist terms that nature is the ultimate source of everything in the universe from the galactic systems to the most intimate ^{feelings} and boldest thoughts of homo sapiens.

2. The second aspect of materialism covers the relations between matter and mind. According to materialism, matter produces mind and mind never exists apart from matter. Mind is the highest product of material development and animal organization and the most complex form of human activity.

3. This means that nature exists independently of mind but that no mind can exist apart from matter. The material world existed long before mankind or any thinking being came into existence. As Feuerbach said: "The true relation of thought to Being is this; Being is subject, thought is predicate. Thought springs from Being, but Being does not spring from thought."

4. This precludes the existence of any God, gods, spirits, souls or other immaterial entities which are alleged to direct or influence the operations of nature, society and the inner man.

These are the elementary principles of the materialist outlook. By these signs shall you know a materialist or conversely, a non-materialist, whether or not that person knows what kind of thinker he really is.

...
The philosophical opposite of materialism is idealism. These two modes of thought reciprocally define and limit each other in the province of philosophy. Therefore, unless we know what idealism is, we cannot fully understand the positions of materialism, and vice versa. What does idealism (that is, consistent idealism) maintain?

1. The basic element of reality is not matter but mind or spirit. Everything else, in the last analysis, comes from mind or spirit and depends upon its operations.

2. Mind generates material things; behind or before the material world lurks the spirit or mind creating it. Nature may be the mother but there is a God-Father who transcends her.

3. Thus mind or spirit exists before and apart from matter. Spirit is the abiding reality; matter no more than a passing phase or illusion.

4. Mind or spirit is identical with or emanates from the divine, or at least leaves open the possibility of supernatural existence, power and interference.

It should be noted that the basic propositions of these two types of thought are absolutely opposed to each other. One must be right and the other wrong. Both cannot be correct. Whoever maintains consistently the position of the one is inescapably led to conclusions exactly contrary to the other.

WHAT IS HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

I was led by my studies to the conclusion that legal relations as well as forms of State could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the so-called general progress of the human mind, but that they are rooted in the material conditions of life, which are summed up by Hegel after the fashion of the English and French writers of the eighteenth century under the name civil society, and that the anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy. The study of the latter which I had begun in Paris, I continued in Brussels where I had emigrated on account of an expulsion order issued by M. Guizot. The general conclusion at which I arrived and which, once reached, continued to serve as the guiding thread in my studies, may be formulated briefly as follows: In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society --the real foundation, on which legal and political superstructures arise and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness.

At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or--what is but a legal expression for the same thing--with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production, these relations turn into their fetters. Then occurs a period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations, the distinctions should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production

which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophical--in short ideological, forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production.

No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society. Therefore, mankind always sets itself only such problems as it can solve; since, on closer examination, it will always be found that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation.

In broad outline we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois modes of production as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production; not in the sense of individual antagonisms, but of conflict arising from conditions surrounding the life of individuals in society. At the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. With this social formation, therefore, the prehistory of human society comes to an end.

Karl Marx

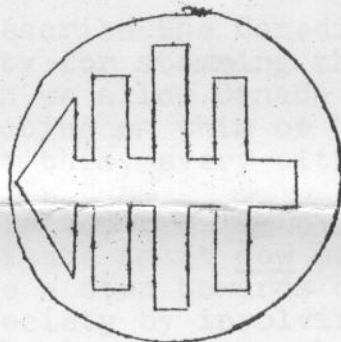
Preface to A Contribution to the Critique
of Political Economy (1859)

HARBORD NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY CLUB

"Within 15 years, another 6 to 12 nations are sure to have a bomb of some sort. We're crossing a red-line, and our thinking is static. I don't think people have grasped the scale of a nuclear war."

"What I'm trying to fight against is the general freeze-up in thinking about the future; that's what has happened with the bomb. It was deliberately pushed out of politics five years ago, but just because no one's talking about it, doesn't mean it's vanished. It's still there, shrieking in the attic."

PETER WATKINS THE WAR GAME



Today's youth must live in tomorrow's world. They must act upon their democratic right to participate in society now as high school students. Participation is the essence of democracy, our form of government. Political decisions affect all of us in every way from the local tax rate to the threat of nuclear annihilation. We must all bear the responsibility for the actions of our government. Can we therefore afford to be passively swept along, to allow others to direct the current of our lives?

Action, however, must be preceded by knowledge. World happenings are reported in newspapers, magazines, radio and T.V. We must learn to question these reports, analyse them and evaluate them. Our high-schools must be more than just institutions for making students "fit into" society. In this age of rapid technological progress and spiralling world crises, high school students must learn to understand and improve society. This is the aim of the Harbord NDP club. As stated in our constitution, our purpose is "to have students meet for the process of education with regard to the NDP programme, student and world affairs, and to implement the members' ideas by participation within the conventions of the NDP of Ontario."

The experience of participation is the best teacher: textbooks and detached discussion of world problems are not enough to prepare students to meet the social challenges of tomorrow. Text book knowledge without any intention of applying it and without the benefit of first hand experience is dry and meaningless. There is little use in discussing painting technique without also trying to paint. Political discussion clubs can discuss the news of the day from the detached spectator point of view, but this is of no avail if the conclusions are not used as a basis for political action. This the way conclusions are tested and better conclusions arrived at upon which to base further discussion.

The most frequently used adjective to describe the Canadian political scene is 'apathetic'. The responsibility for stemming the tide of Canadian apathy rests upon the youth. Can we allow Canada to decay into a mere lip-service democracy by voting on whim or half-knowledge or by not voting at all? To prevent this, every citizen must accept the responsibility of commitment.

Today's youth must be prepared to live in tomorrow's world. We must act upon our democratic right to participate in it now as high school students. Partisan political clubs are a step towards democratising the role of high school students in society by involving them in it more directly and will contribute in the long run to the appearance of a new generation who will be capable of intelligently building a better world.

In our meetings we shall present the NDP viewpoint openly and proudly-not veiled under pretended objectivity as is so often the case in political discussion. We intend to do this by having speakers and discussions of the problems of to-day, analyzing these from the New Democratic perspective.

Because we support one political party, however, does not mean that we must form all our judgements according to the programme of that party. Everyone must have his own opinion, assimilating many points of view. Indeed, being affiliated with the NDP enables us to challenge any NDP policy with which we disagree and to try to change it from within the NDP convention, in this way implementation of our ideas is achieved. Thus there is great flexibility of the dimensions of both our topics and our perspective. For this reason we welcome opposing viewpoints at our meetings as they add to the scope of our discussions.

In followings editions of our bulletin we will explain why we believe that the NDP programme is best for students and our society.

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN THE CLUB OR THE NDP PLEASE SEE EITHER ABIE WEISFELD (13A) OR JERRY HEIN (11E) FOR FURTHER INFORMATION OR MEMBERSHIPS

(A)

Vol. 1, No. 2,
Thursday, Nov. 2, 1967

Dear Comrades,

Our biggest project now is our celebration of the Russian Revolution Sat. Nov. 11. Plenty of bourgeois commentators are declaring the "completion" of the Revolution: the success of our celebration can demonstrate its continued vitality and relevance on a world scale. We need to work hard at making it known this week, through conversations, phonings, ticket sales. We will also need a sizeable crew for decorations Saturday morning--contact Joan if you can come.

The Midtown Committee is holding two important anti-war activities this week. Saturday at 5:30 they will hold a picket line outside the Royal York where Pearson is speaking to an international banquet. Tuesday they will sponsor an important city-wide meeting at the Unitarian Church. All comrades should help to build this meeting. The York Committee has printed attractive Vietnam Christmas cards; details from Bea Bryant, 884-3319.

The YS forum Saturday evening is a very significant one. Harry Kopyto and Paul Hook, both prominent figures in the student power movement, will discuss the prospects for Student Power in Canadian universities. Sunday is a workday at YSF House--we need a good team of unskilled labor to finish winterizing the House.

Calendar:

| | | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|---|
| Sat. | Nov. 4 | 10:30 pm: | trade union fraction at 1 Cumberland. |
| | | 2:00 pm: | youth meeting--educational on the Paris Commune. |
| | | 2:00 pm: | poster-making at 1 Cumberland St. for Pearson demo. |
| | | 5:30 pm: | Picket Pearson at Royal York! |
| | | 8:00 pm: | YS Forum on Student Power. |
| Sun. | Nov. 5 | all day | work day at YSF House. |
| | | 8:00 pm | league executive. |
| Mon. | Nov. 6 | 8:00 pm | anti-war committee at 1 Cumberland. |
| | | 8:00 pm | contact committee at 1 Cumberland. |
| Tues. | Nov. 7 | 8:00 pm | Midtown meeting at Unitarian Church, St. Clair e. of |
| Wed. | Nov. 8 | 8:00 pm | branch meeting--educational is anti-war report. Ave. Rd. |
| Thurs. | Nov. 9 | eve. | Rehearsal I for Sat. nte. program. |
| Fri. | Nov. 10 | 8:15 pm | forum: The Challenge Before Quebec Labor. |
| Sat. | Nov. 11 | 10:30 am | decorations at Star Temple Hall. |
| | | aft. | Rehearsal II for Sat. nte. program. |
| | | 8:00 pm | sharp! Russian Revolution celebration, 843 Gerrard St. E. |
| Sun. | Nov. 12 | 2:00 pm | youth meeting--educational on origins of materialism. |
| | | 8:00 pm | league executive. |
| Tues. | Nov. 13 | 7:15 pm | Vanguard mailing. |
| Wed. | Nov. 15 | 8:00 pm | league meeting--educational on theories of history. |

comradely,

John & Kate.

Women's Liberation Literature

*Revolutionary Dynamics of
Women's Liberation,*
by George Novack — 30¢

Pioneers of Women's Liberation,
by Joyce Cowley — 30¢

*Brief to the Royal Commission
on the Status of Women from
the League for Socialist Action*
— 10¢

Problems of Women's Liberation,
by Evelyn Reed — \$1.15

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Education & Women's Liberation



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The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes present their brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

The following is a brief submitted by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada. Since then, a women's liberation movement has developed in Canada. This movement has already shown its ability to involve large numbers of women in struggle against one of the most fundamental aspects of this society — the oppression of women. Hundreds of women, many of them students, are involved in the organized groups springing up across the country. Thousands more are in sympathy with the aims of women's liberation. Every day the movement gains more impetus and has the potential of rapidly gaining mass support. Many of the demands put forward in this early contribution have since become an integral part of the demands of this growing women's liberation movement.

Published by the
Young Socialists/
Ligue des Jeunes
Socialistes

From Human Being

to Dancing Doll

-in 16 short years

"What do you want to do when you grow up, little girl?" "I want to be an astronaut, like mommy."

An interesting thought, but this is not the way the little girl responds. By the time she is 6 years old she is already aware of her role in society. She knows that few challenging opportunities lie before her, that her role will be a limited one. She wants to be "a lady like mommy."

In the first eighteen years of her life a young girl undergoes a rigorous training program designed to direct her toward a specific social and economic role. All of her pre-school training at the hands of her parents and all of her formal education is designed to direct her toward marriage and the raising of a family. Her horizons are deliberately narrowed. She is educated to expect that only certain narrowly-defined areas of work will be open to her and that her wages will be less than a man's. She is trained to accept the myth of feminine inferiority.

Why? Why, in an age when technology could make housework obsolete, is this still a full-time occupation

for vast numbers of women? Why is it that women are channelled into a narrow area of human activity and excluded from many areas open to men? Is it that women are somehow inferior? Does woman's "nature" perhaps destine her to play these limited roles and these alone?

Trevor Wigney, of the Ontario College of Education's Department of Educational Research, doesn't seem to think so. He says in his *Education of Women and Girls*:

"It seems obvious that sex roles are often the result of the interpretation placed by society on the nature of the biological differences rather than the direct result of such differences themselves. They (sex roles) are the result of social needs."

As Professor Wigney says, it is social needs — the needs of Canadian society — that define a woman's role in Canada today.

What kind of society is it that limits women to specific "sex roles"? It is a society run in the interests of profit, not people. It is a society based on an unplanned and chaotic economy, an economy that requires women to play a particular role. Throughout childhood and adolescence society systematically trains women to accept this role through the family, through the educational system and through a thousand myths, customs and social pressures.

dolls and dresses

The process begins in the first year of a girl's life. For her first Christmas the baby girl receives dolls and frilly clothes. For her second she is given dollhouses, dishes, ironing boards, dolls' clothes and more dolls. Her brother receives rockets with launching pads, mechanical toys, build-it kits, games galore and complete jungle warfare outfits. Girls are trained to imitate their mothers, boys to be creative and aggressive.

family school

Along with the family, the school system is used to maintain the status quo. The petty rules and regulations, the brutal drive for conformity, are not side effects of the educational system. They are the essence of it. The early elementary school grades seem to favor girls more than boys. The six year old girl, already a well-trained mimic and conformist, finds the memorization and rigid rules easier to accept than does her more imaginative brother. The boy who has been rewarded for his creativity by his parents is at first lost in the classroom.

As if it weren't enough for her mother, her teacher, and the television set to define the young girl's role for her, the text books also do it. The worker-father, homemaker-mother, girl-child with her dolls, boy-child in his tree fort are all portrayed in story and picture. She learns about the many great *men* who made history. Throughout the early grades girls excel academically and are praised for their efforts. Then the situation changes. As Trevor Wigney says in *Education of Women and Girls*:

"It also appears that the later years of elementary school and early years of high school see a change in girls' motivation patterns, when society no longer rewards them for academic success but expects them to become more passive and cultivate so-called 'feminine graces'."

By junior high school, a girl who is serious about her studies is labelled an "oddball". Dating is decreed to be a girl's prime interest. At the same time as boys are given special encouragement to study, the propaganda machines tell a girl it's social suicide to be smarter than her boy friend. Magazines like *Glamour*, which ran an article last February entitled "How To Be Outspoken Without Paying Too High a Price", instruct the girl on the fine points of her role.

McCall's

Christmas 1960



Secondary school girls are consciously streamed away from the maths and sciences into commercial and arts courses, thus preparing them for relatively unskilled, underpaid jobs. They are prepared for their special role in the economy — that of a reserve of labor to be shunted on and off the labor market to meet the economic needs of the moment (as took place during World War II when women were rushed into the work force only to be shoved out again when their services were no longer required.) Girls invariably outnumber boys in the commercial courses, in some provinces by a ratio of ten to one. Home economics is almost solely confined to girls and industrial arts to boys.

The segregated health and physical education classes teach boys and girls to accept the double standard. If she doesn't know already, the young woman learns in her health class just exactly what society expects of her. Here she learns that she mustn't "go too far" with a boy or she will lose her "most precious asset". This motto of the high school teachers is echoed by every advertisement every television program, everything in society. They all tell her to use her body to

get a man. As the *Toronto Daily Star*, March 30 edition, stated in one article — "YOU'LL RATE AS DATE-BAIT IF YOU TAKE THESE TIPS". Her sex is used to sell everything from Fords to Prime Ministers. Her future, she is told, is in the bedroom and the kitchen. There she'll earn her keep.

birth control

These overwhelming social pressures drive teenagers into "forbidden" sexual relationships, while at the same time denying them access to birth control. As a result, 75 to 100 women at University of Toronto, for example, have illegal abortions each year. More than 55,000 teenagers in Canada marry every year, many as a result of unwanted pregnancies. The health courses which provide detailed, diagrammed information about the functioning of the pituitary gland tell the young girl nothing about birth control. To go to a doctor and ask for the pill is a big step in itself, and even then she has no guarantee the doctor will help her. Too often she musters the courage only after her first pregnancy.

universities discriminate

The 1961 census showed that slightly more girls than boys were enrolled in school between the ages of five and fourteen. At fifteen the percentage of girls started dropping, until college age, where only half as many women as men enrolled. Even those few women who do go to university are concentrated in the arts courses. Society directs them to university for one purpose — to get a MAN. And since society is training them for this role of marriage and motherhood, why

should it pay attention to educating them? It shouldn't, concludes Jack McArthur, financial expert for the *Toronto Daily Star*, who represented a powerful trend when he wrote in his January 30th column:

"If this valuable commodity (education) must be used to best advantage, how do female students rate? Obviously, low. Having received a university education, partly or largely paid for by the state, they are far more likely to fail to use it. Can the state regard this as fair, when it may have kept an almost as talented male out of university in order to educate the family? No, it is not fair. Possibly, then, the state may depart from the policy of complete equality to give at least some marginal preference to males."

University of Toronto, the key university in training the leaders of Canadian business, contains many crude examples of discrimination against women. Hart House, to which all U of T male students belong, only allows women into its hallowed halls after 2:00 p.m. — and even then they must be outnumbered by the men! Massey College, U of T's elite college for graduate students, also excludes women. University of Toronto Schools is an elite private school for boys, financed by U of T through public funds.

This whole process, from her mother's knee to the university, systematically molds the woman to accept what has been described as second class citizenship. With all the propaganda and prejudices of society directed against her, it is no wonder that woman, despite the many gains she has made, is unable to take advantage of the opportunities that are theoretically open to her. Betty Friedan in her *Feminine Mystique* makes an analogy with the women of China:

"... But what would have happened if, before a single generation of Chinese girls had grown up with un-

bound feet, doctors, hoping to save them from pain and distress, told them to bind their feet again? And teachers told them that walking with bound feet was feminine, the only way a woman could walk if she wanted her man to love her? And scholars told them they would be better mothers if they could not walk too far away from their children? And peddlers, discovering that women who could not walk bought more trinkets, spread fables of the dangers of running and the bliss of being bound? Would many little Chinese girls then grow up wanting to have their feet securely bound, never tempted to run or walk?"

Yes, just as many little Canadian girls grow up accepting their exclusion from whole areas of human activity. Girls are born with the same basic capacities to cope with the world as boys. It is only after they are born that society binds their feet and minds.

class society

It is class society, the same society that rests on the oppression of all workers and the double oppression of racial minorities, it is this society that relegates women to their role as inferior beings.

Discrimination against women is not a mere surface aspect of life in Canada. From birth, formal training and social pressures from every conceivable source direct women toward their proper "feminine" role. The roots of this discrimination lie not in "human nature" but in the foundations of the capitalist economy. As we have seen, women form a reserve of cheap labor to be moved on and off the labor market according to the needs of the economy and as such they represent a constant threat to the wage gains of all workers. Women are the main stabilizing force in the family, which plays a major role in molding children to fit the requirements of a profit-

motivated society. A reform in one or two aspects of this society would improve the status of women, but could never bring full equality. As long as Canada is owned by a small minority and run for their profit against the interests of the vast majority, there can be no equality — for men or women. The Canadian economy must be publicly owned and planned in the interests of the working people.

Toward this end, the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes call on the government of Canada to free women from the sole responsibility for child care, so that they may participate in other activities as they wish. We see child-rearing as the most important responsibility of our society, and think that society should provide the child with all it has to offer, regardless of the parents' resources. We call for an extension of the school system to include a far-reaching system of day care centres available free of charge for all working and studying mothers.

student power

We demand Student Power — an end to big business control of the educational system. Unlike big business, students have nothing to gain from the oppression of women.

All grants, fellowships, and scholarships must be without sex restrictions. School fees must be abolished and living allowances paid to students so that education is available to the children of the working class. This is especially important to women since it is often they who must work in order to pay for the education of their brothers and husbands.

All schools and classes must be co-educational. All school residences should be co-educational and available free of cost. All subjects must be open to both sexes with special encouragement given to women in those

fields from which they have traditionally been excluded. The textbooks must be rewritten to eliminate both overt and subtle discrimination against women. Women must be written back into history! Students should learn of the inspiring role of women in primitive society, the role of pioneer women in Canada, and the brave women who won the basic legal rights for their sex.

We call for a replacement of home economics and industrial arts courses by a compulsory general living course so that we don't train cooks who can't change a fuse, and carpenters who can't fry an egg.

We believe that the right to control her own body, to choose when she wants to bear children, is a basic right of all women, regardless of age. We demand free birth control information and devices be available for all girls and women of child-bearing age. Free abortions should be legal and available upon request. Co-educational sex education must be part of every curriculum and begin in the early grades.

Women must have equal opportunity to work in any field with no pay differentials or other discrimination.

The implementation of these demands would not solve the whole problem of women's inferior status, but it would be an important advance toward a society where men and women can freely develop their capacities as human beings, a society in which there would be no basis for discrimination of sex, colour, age or class. It would mark a big step towards the establishment of a society in which the economy is planned to meet human needs, not a society where human needs are warped to serve the interests of profit — a big step towards socialism.

- April 1968

OTTAWA APRIL 6

CONTACT

1968

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challenge the new
prime minister on
VIETNAM

End Canada's Complicity

● On April 6, Ottawa will be a centre of attention for all Canadians as the Liberal party convention elects a new leader and the next prime minister. The murderous escalation of the Vietnam war by the U.S. has sparked fear and revulsion around the world. But no discussion on Vietnam is planned for the Liberal convention.

● March on Ottawa April 6 to voice the conviction of millions of us that the next prime minister must end Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war. It is time to impress upon the convention and everyone who will be watching the concern we feel for the Vietnamese people and for the young Americans dying in this tragic war.

● Recent events in Vietnam have dramatically illustrated the fact that the U.S. cannot win militarily. The destruction is spreading to neighbouring lands and it is no longer denied that U.S. officials are considering the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. Along with the people of the world, we must act to stop this madness.

● We must challenge the disgraceful complicity of the government in this war which threatens to engulf the whole world in nuclear war. Ottawa has cynically used the good name of the Canadian people to justify American intervention in Vietnam and through its Canadian Commercial Corporation has supplied the weapons for murder in Vietnam. Canadian representatives on the International Control Commission have covered up American actions and have in effect spied for the U.S. State Department.

● We call for a mass mobilization in Ottawa on Saturday, April 6 to confront the Liberal Leadership Convention with the opposition of millions of Canadians to the government's complicity in the Vietnam war.

● We challenge the next prime minister and his government to reverse this policy by ending Canada's complicity and by calling for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Spring Mobilization Committee
241 Victoria, at Dundas, Toronto

Withdraw U.S. Troops

Please clip and mail to

SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

241 Victoria, at Dundas, Toronto

☐ I wish to reserve a seat on the bus leaving Toronto to arrive in Ottawa on April 6. I enclose \$.....

Send me return tickets or ☐ adult, \$12 ☐ student, \$8

☐ child \$4.

☐ I want to help build the action.

☐ I want literature on Vietnam.

☐ I enclose a contribution of \$..... to help pay the cost of organizing the action.

Name

Address

City Phone

**withdraw U.S.
troops now!**

**end Canada's
complicity in Vietnam**



EASTER

MARCH

for

PEACE

APRIL 6

**assemble at N. Queen's Park 2 pm
to march on the City Hall Square**

Vietnam Mobilization Committee 241 Victoria Street Toronto 364-5030

April 3, 1968

Dear comrades,

The mobilization for the 6th is going very successfully, with unprecedented support from a broad range of organizations. The fact that the Star gave the Spring Mobilization Committee's response to Johnson's resignation good coverage should help to build the action.

We must look on this action as a mobilization of the whole local. All comrades are expected to go on the buses-anyone with a pressing reason for not going must clear it through the organizer. The transportation arrangements remain the same as they were originally. We will be going by bus after a social at the Winchevsky centre.

Our main responsibility in this action is to circulate our literature. What better way to maintain contact with a new activist than through a sub to the Newsletter, the Vanguard or YSF! All three publications have excellent issues out for April 6 sales. Comrades will receive their sales bundles at the Winchevsky centre from the Sales Captains. The function of the captains will be to distribute the bundles and collect the money at the end of the demonstration. Montreal will be handling French language sales. The assignments are as follows:

| <u>Vanguard</u> | <u>Newsletter</u> | <u>YSF</u> | <u>Dissent</u> & SAWV memberships |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| Bannon | Anibal | Bonnie | Anne Marie |
| Brock | Ball | Dennis | Arnie |
| Crandall | Conrad | Gerry D. | Bill B. |
| Dunn | Mack | John J. | Diane |
| Edwards | Martin | Lynn | Harry K. |
| Green | O'Connor | Myra | Jacquie |
| Massen | Otto | Ned | Jerry |
| Maxwell | Ryan | Naomi | Kim |
| Roma | Bates | Pat | Wendy |
| Kate | Connally | Swift | Bob |
| | Johnson | | |
| | Leblanc | | |
| | MacDonald | | |
| | MacGregor | | |
| | McGuire | | |
| | Pine | | |
| | Saunders | | |
| | White | | |

Sales Captains:

Vanguard: Massen*, Maxwell, Brock
Newsletter: Dennis*, Connally, Mack
YSF: Kim*, Jacquie, Wendy
Dissent: Abie*, other h.s. comrades

Marshalls:

Gary, Bert, D.B., Gene, Janssen,
Whitton, Brown, Cameron, Crandall,
Laboissiere, MacLean, M.R.

See you Friday at the Winchevsky centre.

Comradely,
Jacquie

(Found in 1968)

JUNE 14

Dear *Abie*,

We are now in the process of transferring from weekend to week-night local meetings for the summer period. Eventually, we're aiming for Thursday night meetings which we hope to maintain consistently during the summer.

However, for the duration of the Vanguard subscription drive, Thursday night meetings aren't possible. So our next two meetings will be held Monday evenings—Monday, June 17th, at 8:00 p.m., and Monday, June 24th at 8:00 p.m.

As well, a special local meeting to complete our pre-convention discussion, vote on documents, and elect delegates, will be held Thursday, June 27 at 8:00 p.m. -that is, prior to the LSA/LSO convention. The four days between the LSA/LSO convention and our own will be too busy with last minute convention preparations to allow for a special local meeting then.

The second YS convention discussion bulletin is now available at the youth house—it contains primarily the CEC resolution on our press, which is to be discussed at the June 17th meeting. It should be picked up and read before the meeting. As well, comrades should be prepared to pay their convention assessment (\$5.00) within the next week.

YS members who are not members of the LSA and are planning to attend the LSA/LSO convention in Montreal on the July 1st weekend should report immediately to me. All youth comrades should attend this convention—it's an important project of our whole movement, and an excellent educational experience. In cases where comrades, especially high school comrades, feel they can't afford the trip to Montreal, we can try and work out some special arrangements.

1968 Main items on the agenda for the next meeting, June 17, will be discussion of the CEC press resolution, and proposals for a YS solidarity campaign around the French events—particularly the outlawing of the Jeunesse Communistes Revolutionnaire, our French counterpart, and other revolutionary student organizations.

See you Monday!

Comradely,
Kate

Socialists Speak Their Minds, But Few Are There To Listen

St Catharines Summer '68

Only a handful of city youths — including several members of the Satan's Choice motorcycle club — turned up Sunday afternoon in Montebello Park to hear Toronto Young Socialist Jacquie Henderson in a "speak your mind" youth rally.

Although thousands of leaflets advertising the meeting had been distributed to local high school students, less than 100 youths were on hand.

Two police officers discreetly stood on the sidelines as the young socialists took cracks at the "establishment" and every social control in the book.

Miss Henderson, 21, a full-time organizer with The Young Socialists, was accompanied by Kate Porter, 22, also a worker with the same organization and Al Engler, 29, of the League for Socialist Action, a professed Marxist group.

Responsible for publicizing the meeting was John Whittman of Niagara Falls who said he was a member of socialists' caucus in St. Catharines.

Mr. Whittman told The Stan-

dard, he was not a member of the League for Socialist Action, but was sympathetic to its cause.

Capitalism will be replaced by socialism by revolutionary steps if necessary, he added.

Wearing blue sandals, black stockings, and a bright orange mini-skirt with a matching wide-brimmed hat, Miss Henderson appealed to her audience as she questioned every parental control.

"Which adults are capable of making decisions for us?" she questioned.

Asking "what the hell are we going to do to change things?" the attractive young woman went on to condemn high auto insurance rates for youngsters, school administration, and every political party except the NDP.

"What is it that rules our lives? If you've got money you can do it," she charged. The Liberals have it, the Conservatives have it. "We're opposed to everything those money bags stand for."

Occasionally, a youth shouted out a question from the audience.

Typical questions were: "Why

do you have to be a member of the NDP to get anywhere? Tell me just what socialism is?"

Acting as chairman of the meeting Ben St. Pierre announced he would form a local branch of the Young Socialists and said he would lead local youth in petitioning the member of parliament with a request to lower the voting age to 18.

Another speaker, Bert Keser, 19, chairman of the high school students Against the War in Vietnam, in Toronto, told the youths of efforts to discuss the war in Toronto schools and suppression of activities by school officials.

"Vietnam just isn't talked about," he said. Mr. Keser condemned Canada's role in sending arms to Vietnam and the possibility that Prime Minister Trudeau would send Canadian troops to that country as a peace-keeping force. "We'll have nothing to say about this," he charged.

Mr. Engler, offering various Marxist newspapers and publications, also spoke to the teenagers. While teenagers have to argue with their parents and teachers, the real problems are caused by a small minority.

"They're misguided, unfortunate victims of the system," he said.

A local organizer for a group known as "The Citizens For Peace," a former Carlton University student, attempted to straighten out some of the remarks made by previous speakers. Mike Collins, 24, declared: "I'm not sure the young Socialists have the answer."

Mr. Collins told teenagers they were ignorant on most issues and suggested they take time to read newspapers to find out what is going on.

Education, civil rights, drugs, the war in Vietnam and government, were included in his brief remarks.

Objecting to receiving a number for writing an examination at Brock University, Mr. Collins said he told university officials: "I just quit your little course."

On civil rights he said: "How many black or yellow people have you seen living in Glenridge?"

On drugs: "We're living in a drug oriented society . . . caffeine, nicotine, alcohol, benzadrine, are all part of the addictions prevalent. As for marijuana, I'm not saying it's good but I'm not saying it's bad."

SOCIAL ACTION

- Ontario Union of Students

- an enlargement upon the Glendon resolution,,1968

BRIEF ON STUDENT LABOUR RELATIONS/ by Ken Stone

THE CONTEXT

When I mentioned to a student from Ryerson that the OUS Secretariat was trying to get permission from the C.N.E. to join the Labour Day Parade, he laughed. When I suggested that students must establish better relations with workers, he replied with amazement that he could imagine no interests of his being common with those of workers.

This of course, is the typical reaction of students to suggestions of solidarity with workers. It indicates their present level of consciousness.

It is also a result of their process of socialization. Ours is a class society. Whether you accept class divisions on the basis of the relationships of people to the economic means of production, an accumulation of wealth, or any other criteria, it is obvious that there are hierarchical and antagonistic distinctions between groups of people in our society. It is also obvious that our society benefits some groups disproportionately at the expense of other groups.

But our schools are not only class-biased. They are increasingly class-divided. At the average age of fourteen (Grade 9), the Ontario student must choose between academic, technical, or commercial high school courses (the Robarts Plan). The official rhetoric states that the students end up "where their desires and ability leads them". Actually the principal determinant is family and economic background. It is not strange that Forest Hill Collegiate is an exclusively academic school. It is not surprising that Central Tech is located downtown.

By the post-secondary level, social barriers have weeded out almost all but the middle and upper class student from the universities and colleges. (1)

(1) A 1963 CUS survey shows that the children of 14% of highest income earners compose 37% of Canadian post-secondary institutions, while only 28% of the student population comes from the lowest 52% of Canadian income earners.

R. Rabinovitch, An Analysis of the Canadian Post-Secondary Student Population, CUS.

Some of the graduates of the high-school technical courses, meanwhile have passed on to colleges of applied arts and technology. All the rest, who statistically come from lower income backgrounds continue in low income blue collar occupations.

And where do the graduates of post-secondary institutions go. (Plastics - no!) University graduates generally end up with professional or upper management status. The orientation at the CAAT's is mid-management and technical.

No wonder the student from Ryerson laughed.

WHY STUDENTS SHOULD ALLY THEMSELVES WITH WORKERS

The answer is actually quite simple.

Both are exploited. Workers justifiably regard themselves as exploited because they receive proportionately less than the worth that they create by their labour. Students might also regard themselves exploited. Education is the largest and fastest growing industry in Ontario (2). Our post-secondary institutions which call themselves 'educational' are, in fact, knowledge factories run officially for the 'preservation, transmission and increase of knowledge.' The professors are the workers in the factory. Students are the raw material. Students are processed into packaged units of knowledge (medical knowledge, engineering knowledge, business knowledge) in order to meet the specifications of society. While they are students, then, young people are not only denied the foregone earnings of education, but pay tuition fees in order to aggrandize a socially profitable industry. John and Margret Rowntree carry this approach a step further (3) and postulate that youth in the United States constitutes a new and separate class in relation to the means of production. Youth in America, they claim are rebelling, not because of a generational gap but because of a class consciousness of exploitation. American youth is exploited because in any of the few options open to it, education, military or the labour market, youth receive less than the wealth that they create. As education and the military are two of the fastest growing industries, the Rowntrees feel that the revolutionary potential of American youth is increasing.

The loop-hole in the theory of exploitation of students is that youth grows old. That is to say, students may except their exploitation because of the Protestant ethic, "suffer now, enjoy later". Yet even the loophole is being plugged up by the realization of future exploitation. Because of the increasing complexity of our economic system, many students realize that upon graduation they will become workers - white collar workers opposed to manual workers but workers just the same.

And as long as manual workers and students realize that they cannot end their exploitation in the present social context, they must unite to achieve a new one. This is the reason for student-worker solidarity.

2) The Hall-Dennis Report

3) The Political Economy of Youth in the United States; OUR GENERATION
Vol. 6, number 1

Better Relations

It will not be easy to better relations between students and workers: neither group has a radical perspective. It involves raising the level of consciousness of both students who regard themselves as professionals and management and workers who are co-opted by higher wages and better working conditions.

The problem should be approached on three levels:

- 1) Joint educational projects. Students and workers who realize their mutual interests might start covering each other's events in their newspapers. An exchange of speakers and observers at conferences might be arranged. Joint seminars could be held. Workers might be invited to classes to talk about unions and the historic role of labour. Students are already invited to participate in the programs of the Workers Educational Association.
- 2) Solidarity Actions. The purpose of this approach is to show support for the other group in the hope that when you're in trouble, they'll support you. Examples of this action in the past were OUS support for the strikers at Thermotex (where students were scabbing) and the invitation by Labourer's Local 183 for OUS participation in their recent demonstration concerning employment and housing.
- 3) Joint Activity. The alliance can be strengthened by cooperation on issues of mutual concern, especially those which are raising the level of consciousness.

Universal accessibility might be such an issue. The children of management and the professionals fill the universities. The children of workers sometimes make it to the colleges of applied arts and technology. Yet all the workers pay taxes to support these institutions. This situation raises fundamental questions about equality in our society.

The organizing and unionizing of campus service workers provides another matter of mutual concern - who controls the post-secondary institutions? Why do students and workers have to unionize to protect their interests if they are all members of the academic community?

Other possibilities are worker-student municipal tickets and joint co-op housing.



HE WON'T BE THERE

BE SURE YOU

**MARCH
OCT. 26
VIETNAM
QUEEN'S PARK 2 P.M.**

**AGAINST THE
WAR IN**

**END CANADA'S COMPLICITY!
WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW!**

Vietnam Mobilization Committee 241 Victoria Street

WE ARE NOT GUILTY! STATEMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE 114 ARRESTED DURING
THE OCCUPATION OF THE SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.

Why did several hundred students and other youth take part in the occupation of the SFU administration building last November? Why did the 114 submit to arrest after the RCMP invasion of the campus? Who is the guilty party in this whole struggle? Who is really on trial now, when we are faced with criminal charges against 114 people?

The Social Credit government and its educational system are on trial. The accused 114 have become the accusers! Our cause, the cause of the student movement is entirely justified and the militant action we took during the occupation was just and necessary.

We, along with a great many other students, supported the occupation as a last resort. The student movement presented its four demands to the president of SFU who said we "had a good case". We then presented them to the university Registrar who said he "had no power". The University Senate rejected our demands out-of-hand. Just as workers are forced to resort to strike action to defend their living standards, we resorted to occupying the administration building to force the government to deal with our grievances.

Our demands are clear and simple. The universities should be open and accessible to all who wish to use them. Our actions were legitimate. We are not guilty of any of the charges that the courts and the attorney general have considered laying against us - be they indictable or non-indictable.

We accuse the government! It is anti-labor and anti-student. The educational policy of the Social Credit government gives away the fact that it represents the same vested interests, the corporate elite who control our universities through the Board of Governors. You and your educational system are responsible for the educational crisis that besets our schools and universities!

The government is well aware that it is on trial in the case of the 114. The government wants to save face and get rid of the case of the 114 as quickly and quietly as possible. They want us to plead guilty in the courts and thereby justify their police raid on the campus. They want us to justify their "rule of law" and their use of force to resolve the crisis in education.

Guilty of what? The guilt rests on the side of the government. We demand amnesty for the accused 114. Drop all charges! Let the government get down to the real problem of solving the crisis that is mounting throughout the whole educational system.

By its RCMP raid on the campus, the government has served notice that its formula for solving the educational crisis is to crush the student movement - by any means necessary.

OVER

Our position is firm. We are not guilty. We stand our ground. The student struggle is legitimate and just - not criminal. The struggle to democratize the university and wrest it from big business control is just beginning. The example we set will be one of a principled political defense.

Our victory will not be determined by the verdict itself, but by the defense of the student struggle that the case of the 114 represents.

On the side of the government are the cops, the paddywagons and the courts. On the side of the 114 is the whole student movement and the union movement. There is no doubt in our minds where we must turn for support and for victory in our defense.

We are not guilty. Defend the 114. Drop all charges.

Implement the four demands Now.

Ken Hiebert, Carol Oleniuk, Mike Jones, Dena Blumenthal, Ron Dixon

For information contact: Dena Blumenthal, 2410 S.E. Marine Drive

Phone 327 5359

COPY ----- COPY ----- COPY ----- COPY -----COPY

ED WONG - "Once Around the Track"

(from The Peak, Wednesday, January 22, 1969)

"With the trial dates set for Feb. 6 & 7, the 114 is now pondering an offer from the prosecuting attorney.

"The deal is that the 114 enter a plea of guilty and in return the charges will be lowered to a misdemeanor.

"Of course, there are advantages and disadvantages.

"On the plus side, the 114, if convicted, will not have a criminal record attached to them for the rest of their lives and will probably be faced with a smaller fine.

"On the other hand, if the 114 accept the deal, it could mean several feathers to the Sacred hat.

"One, the Sacred government will be able to show the public that they were right in laying the charges because the 114 admit to have committed public disturbance.

"Two, the Sacreds will be able to show the public what great people they are in lessening the penalty against the 114.

"Either way, the 114 stand to lose."

--The above is the first section of the column "Once Around the Track", by Ed Wong which appeared in THE PEAK, the student newspaper at Simon Fraser University.--

For immediate release

November 17, 1968

As Czechoslovak students began their occupation of universities in their continuing resistance against the occupation of their country by Soviet troops, the following telegram was sent jointly by the Vancouver Young Socialists and the Vancouver League for Socialist Action to the Czechoslovak embassy in Ottawa, to be forwarded to the Czechoslovak student organizations:

" SOLIDARITY WITH YOUR CONTINUING STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. KNOW THAT STUDENTS AND WORKING PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD ARE INSPIRED IN THEIR OWN STRUGGLES FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY BY YOUR ACTIONS.
FOR THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA.
LONG LIVE SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY."

Speaking for the Young Socialists, the organization whose Quebec counterpart, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, played a leading role in the recent student occupations in Quebec, Ken Hiebert, Vancouver organizer stated:

" The Czechoslovak student action must be seen as part of the international movement of students in Yugoslavia, Poland, France, Mexico, the United States, Quebec and English Canada. All these struggles are moving in the direction of a socialist and democratic society. We will do what we can in Vancouver to publicize and support the actions of the Czechoslovak students."

The Young Socialists also announced the showing of a documentary film on the May-June revolutionary events in France Saturday November 23rd, 8pm at 1208 Granville. The film will be shown by Jacquie Henderson, editor of the Canada wide magazine Young Socialist Forum, who is now touring the country building the December Socialist Students Conference to be held in Toronto. Miss Henderson will be speaking on the Student movement.

-30-

further information

Ken Hiebert - 681-3817

John Steele - 688-5924

CEC Statement

4/11/68
N. Haly
J. J.

3 new locals
40 new comrades
since 1968

The Tasks of the YS/LJS

We face an unprecedented opportunity in the student milieu, the opportunity to build our movement directly, to win radicalizing students to our organisation without their first having to go through a reformist or stalinist experience. The winning of cadre directly to our movement is of course the best situation for the revolutionary movement -- we have the chance to do it unopposed by other tendencies.

2 As we have said before, we face an organisational vacuum on the youth left, a lack of oponent left organisations. This has become even more the case in the past months while on the other hand we have seen the beginnings of a widespread radicalization among canadian students. The CUS leadership, for all its sound and fury at the 1968 Congress, has shown that they are incapable of action, even the most reformist kind. The NDY continues to non-exist. The assorted new leftists have built no organisations and SDU-type organisations where they have been built remain single-campus organisations and even as such have not broadened to any extent and have not developped any stability. (with the exception of SFU where we have built the SDU.)

Canadian students are by no means among the more advanced student bodies. We can not say that even a significant minority of them are socialists. But the radicalisation taking place among youth around the world has hit Canada making more and more students open to socialist ideas. We are in an extremely favourable situation for putting our program across to students and winning them to our organisation.

This a.s us in our task of building the YS/LJS, the vanguard youth organisation whose goal is to build the vanguard party that can lead the working class to socialism. We know that if the student movement is to find its way to the side of the working class then it must have a Marxist-Leninist leadership. At such a time we must be very clear that we are the Marxist-Leninist youth organisation, the only one in Canada. We must have full confidence that we can and will provide the leadership. There is no other existing or future organisation that can do the work of generalizing and deepening the existing struggles on the university and high school. No other organisation can do the necessary and massive job of socialist education.

We have a big opportunity right now to build the socialist movement, our movement, in the student milieu and taking advantage of this opportunity to shape all our work. We must concentrate our full energies on this work. It is in this light that we have already moved out in Quebec with Jeune Garde. It is in this light that we decided to move forward with YSF out of the magazine commentary framework into a monthly tabloid that can best do the big job of socialist educational work that we have to do. We intend to publish a tabloid able to intervene directly in student struggles with our line. It is in this light that we must concentrate our efforts on building the YS clubs on campus. The YS clubs are as was said by the convention, vehicles for bringing the largest number of people to us in the quickest possible manner. The Socialist Students Conference, campaigns etc. are all part of this work. We must professionalize our operations at all levels so that we can maximize our work in directly building the YS/LJS.

(Ed: R.D. notations)

Freedom for

Found in 1989 (Jan-Feb.)



ANN COOLS



BRENDA DASH



ROSIE DOUGLAS

Sir George Williams Students

Three black students, participants in the Sir George Williams University more than two years ago, were found guilty in Montreal of willfully obstructing the use of the University Computer Centre. The charges were:

Brenda Dash - a Canadian, \$2000 or 6 months in jail

Rosie Douglas - West Indian, \$5000 and 2 years less 1 day

Ann Cools - West Indian, \$1500 and 6 months in jail

Speakers will include:

Brenda Dash - convicted black student

Rosie Douglas - convicted black student

Mel Watkins - leader of the NDP Waffle and member of the Committee to Aid the Sir George Williams Students

May 20 8 p.m.

Ontario College of Education (Bloor and Spadina)

Sponsored by the Committee to Aid the Sir George Williams Students
for further information contact: Black Information Centre 6 P.M. - 12:00
536-9113

COMMITTEE TO AID THE SIR GEORGE
WILLIAMS STUDENTS

The purpose of this committee is the defense of the students who are still being tried, and convicted, in Montreal for the occupation of the computer room at Sir George Williams University two years ago.

Brenda Dickenson-Dash, Ann Cools, and Rosie Douglas were convicted on a charge of "willfully obstructing the use of the Sir George Williams University computer centre in 1969". Their sentences "for willful obstruction" were:
\$2000 or 6 months in jail
\$1500 and 6 months in jail
\$5000 and 2 years, less one day, in jail
Willful obstruction was the only charge brought against these three students: they have not been accused of the destruction of the computer, or conspiracy.

Our most immediate objective is to raise \$14,000 for the release of Rosie Douglas

Ann and Brenda are already released. Ann was released on \$3,000 bail, pending appeal. Rosie Douglas is still in jail. The court has set \$14,000 as his bail -- on a charge of willful obstruction.

We also intend to maintain a continuing action committee for the defense of all students still awaiting trial on these two-year-old charges, or whose appeals are still pending.

We believe that the heavy sentences handed down on these charges were motivated more by reactions to the race and national origins of the students, than to the crossness of the charges brought against them or the evidence introduced in court. We plan to continue to bring before the public detailed information to demonstrate the extent to which anti-black prejudice has developed in Canada.

Brenda Dash is a Canadian citizen: she was given six months or \$2,000. Ann Cools is from Barbados: her sentence was six months and \$1,500 (or six months). Rosie Douglas is from Dominica -- he is still in jail, under sentence of two years and \$5,000. These sentences were given in a swift trial conducted in total newspaper and media silence: you never heard about it till it was over.

We intend to make sure that Canadian courts are required to give equal justice and equal hearings to all Canadians and Canadian residents, regardless of race or place of origin.

WE DEMAND:

- 1) THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ROSIE DOUGLAS.
- 2) THE DROPPING OF ALL CHARGES AGAINST SIR GEORGE STUDENTS.
- 3) A FEDERAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE WHOLE AFFAIR BEGINNING WITH THE CHARGES OF RACISM BROUGHT AGAINST PROFESSOR ANDERSON.
- 4) COMPENSATION FOR THE DAMAGES THE STUDENTS SUFFERED DURING THE TWO YEARS AWAITING TRIAL DURING WHICH TIME THEY COULD NOT WORK AND WERE EXPELLED FROM THE UNIVERSITY.

THE FACTS OF THE SIR GEORGE WILLIAMS AFFAIR

During April 1968, six Afro-Caribbean students laid charges of racism and incompetence against one Biology professor, Perry Anderson.

The university Administration ignored the seriousness of the complaint, taking no action to investigate the matter.

On December 5, 1968 the students and the University reached a mutual agreement to establish a hearing committee to weigh the evidence on which the charges were based. It was explicitly agreed that the members of the committee were to be acceptable to all three parties involved, i.e. the University, Professor Perry Anderson, and the students.

The University broke that agreement with the students, and acting upon a decision by the Board of Governors, chose to act unilaterally, and appoint a hearing committee. They simply informed the students to appear before this committee on January 26, 1969, to present their evidence for the charges.

The students refused to participate in this committee and to appear for the hearing, declaring the committee to be unconstitutional, unethical, and an act of bad faith on the part of the University. It was obvious that the committee was set up to find Anderson innocent.

The students moved to occupy the computer centre to back up their demands that a committee be set up as was agreed to on December 5.

One very important factor to consider in the affair was the absolute refusal of the University during the occupation to come to any kind of agreement, or make any compromise which the students were prepared to make, or in any way assist in creating an environment in which the students would have ended the occupation:

Several Black Professors who offered to act as liaison between the administration even before the occupation began were ignored.

Three Black Professors tried in vain during the occupation, just prior to February 11, to have the matter arrested before it went too far. The administration ignored them.

A Black Professor phoned the Dean during the occupation, and asked him to come down and speak to the students. The Dean's reply was "Have nothing to say to them."

The students were not alone in their protest. Many community organisations and influential people in the community voiced support for the students, asking for the kind of investigation that was agreed to.

On Sunday February 9, 1969, the students and the administration lawyers came to a compromise agreement. This written document was signed by the students, and they were assured by the lawyers for the university and the Dean of Students that the Acting Principal would also sign. The occupants of the computer centre and the faculty lounge were prepared to evacuate. They later learned however that the SCWATU, the University Faculty Assn. a third party, had rejected the document.

The university finally responded, Tuesday morning February 11, about 4.00 A.M. Police entered the computer centre. Later that day, 400 well armed riot prepared police moved into the computer centre to arrest the 97 unarmed students. A very significant point here is that none of the students were found guilty of destroying the computer.

Ten days later the court began to grant bail, so that by the end of six weeks the last three were released. Total bail amounted to over a quarter million dollars.

All the students have been expelled from the university, Professor Anderson however has been publicly exonerated by the university and the mass media.

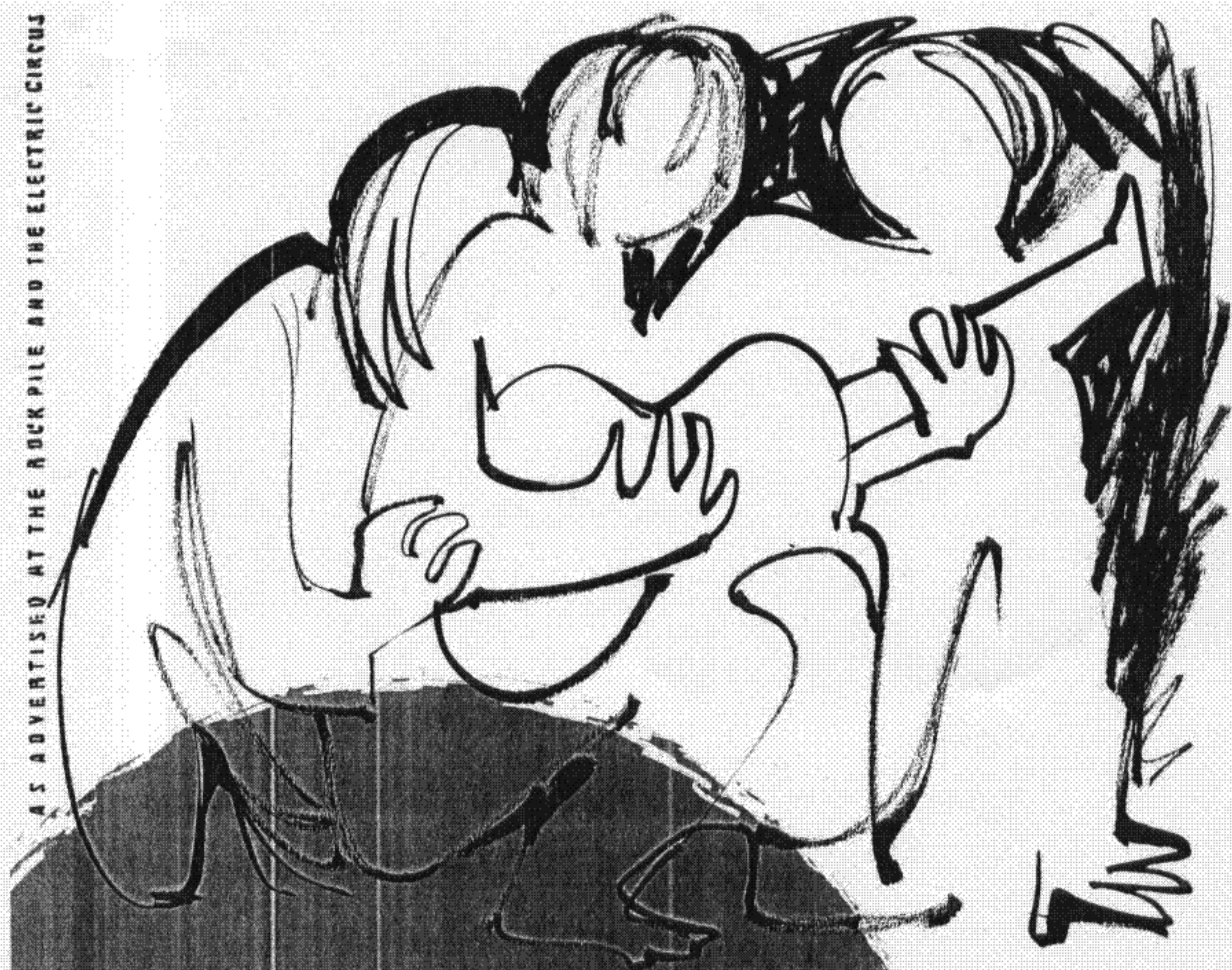
Ten students from Trinidad were fined last year a total of \$33,500. which was paid by the Trinidad and Tobago Government.

37 West Indians and 49 white Canadians pleaded guilty to occupying the computer centre and were fined.

THESE STUDENTS, VICTIMS PRIMARILY OF CANADIAN RACISM, NEED YOUR SUPPORT, BOTH MORAL AND FINANCIAL.

IF CANADA WILL CONTINUE TO PROJECT ITSELF ABROAD AS A FREE SOCIETY YOU MUST ACT NOW TO ENSURE THAT ISSUES OF THIS NATURE ARE ERASED, AND THAT GUARANTEES ARE PROVIDED TO PREVENT THEIR RE-OCCURRENCE.

THIS COMMITTEE NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE. LET US KNOW NOW WHERE YOU STAND.



VIETNAM PEACE FESTIVAL

SATURDAY
AUGUST 9, 3 p.m.
CITY HALL
SQUARE

with Cathy Young •
The Nucleus • The Five Shy •
The Bread and The Wine • The Buckstone
Hardware • With Kim Calloway • CHUM FM •
Gene Thayer • CKFH and an Anti-war G.I.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria St. 364-5030

unemployment - SRC - for next yr.
program m...

(Found in 1969)

Campus Report: YS Local Conference (Aug. 15)

outline:

the general context -- radicalization of students on a world-wide scale which continues today. However, there are certain difficulties ... see ICP issue. Role of students in the revolution.

} got
dramatized
Europe.

specific context -- S'toon Campus: situation and history of student radicalism.

- a) financial crisis (autonomy issue, student loan demonstration, registration crisis etc)... This has repercussions on various levels: employment (espec. in Sask), entrance to U. and internal structuring of budget..... all are inter-related.

In all its aspects this financial crisis, which is a perpetual phenomenon at the U. of S., is related to the economic situation in the province as a whole. (e.g. see paper submitted to NDP)

Within the university this will continue to be reflected in a number of ways (and intensified): i) postponement of community colleges ii) more overcrowding of classes iii) increased difficulty in gaining admission (e.g. student loans), iv) another "registration crisis", v) continued difficulties in gaining employment...

The interaction between the provincial economy and the university is becoming more and more apparant to students. This is a healthy development, one which we should encourage. The inter-relationship(s) exist(s) at all levels. The integration of agribusiness and the university (which penetrates almost all of the colleges in one way or another) should become more of a focus than it has been in the past. Last year we tried to bring out this relationship during the Farm and Home week in January.....

b) history:

- prior to the school year 66-67 any radical activity at U. of S. took the form of CUCND, NDY/NDP and SUPA activities. The focus was on "community organizing" and "peace" projects. These activities did not assume major proportions and were not directed at the university hierarchy in any significant way. Most of the leadership at Saskatoon Campus left at the end of the 66 school year.
- 66-67 saw the beginning of Vietnam organizing on Campus. Campus organizing was pretty-well exclusively in this area and even there it was somewhat sporadic although several actions and activities occurred. The Campus NDP (YND) also functioned at that time....
- 67-68 was the year of the autonomy crisis, the beginning of the River Widdler and student power. This was the first year for autonomous student organizing (e.g. outside the University hierarchy) and the relatively small group of radicals managed to lead several activities involving several hundred students. The autonomy crisis, which

began in the fall, was a major centre of activity. In Regina the reaction to Thatcher's proposals was carried by an unprincipled 'united front' of students, employees and faculty which operated in a thoroughly elitist manner. The River Fiddler had some impact but more important was the participation of radicals in SRC elections. The premise behind running was to use elections as a platform for UNAC, student power etc. In Regina "radical" slates ran with the intention of winning..... even so, Saskatoon Campus did, to some extent, draw from the struggles at Regina Campus (which has amore radical faculty and Arts orientation & therefore found itself involved in significant confrontations with the Admin. -68-69 saw the 1200 strong Student Loan demonstration as soon as Campus opened. SDU was formed at Saskatoon Campus. It's greatest weaknesses were: its inability to act as anything more than an action group which could rally around a crisis but not carry on concerted work, the preoccupation of members with "participatory democracy" which prevented effective leadership... For revolutionaries it was inadequate. SDU did manage, however, to systematically raise the question of open decision-making and carry several significant actions on this question, especially in the latter part of the year. Early in the year there was a sit-in at the placement office when Dow came to Campus. It lasted out a day. A Vietnam action was held in the fall and involved 200 or so people in a march on city hall. In the SRC elections a radical slate brought forth the major issues that had been fought during the year. Also, SLF. -69-70 marked the decline of SDU & RF. The formation of CSM and the desire to break out of the 'bounds' of the campus hampered continuous campus organizing. Much activity was focused through CSM, S'toon Local which was pre-occupied with non-campus activities. Thus the civic election drew almost all out resources off campus temporarily. Despite this we dealt with the registration crisis, Farm & Home week & ran an election. The Vietnam demonstration in the fall drew almost 1000 people and a VMC functioned most of the year. High school organizing grew strong last year too. It continued, however, to have too much of a U. base. The dilemma of SDU/CSM, the lack of a democratic centralist organization, also expressed itself and led to the abortive attempt to set up SSM which ran in the elections but did not involve many new people.... WLM grew on campus and brought in the day care centre and a series of educational activities as well as the abortion campaign. Still, our major failing was that we did not have a clear understanding/definition of the relationship btw U and non-U issues. This led to 'opportunistic' measures such as the semi-successful bid for support from students on the Bill 2 demonstration. The distribution of Special PF to students etc. In the latter part of the year the decline in CSM, to which most radical students had tied themselves, was inevitably reflected in our campus work. All

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of CSM's perennial contradictions were manifest on the Campus.

c) Assessment:

- the world-wide radicalization of students reflected itself at S'toon campus primarily in two ways: anti-war activity and anti-authoritarianism. These two themes will continue to have great importance for our work. However, we have not in the past, been very continuous in working in these areas..
- the particular situation of Saskatchewan, the hinterland economy and its political ramifications, have been the second major source of radical activity by Saskatoon Campus students. As indicated above this will likely intensify. In both these areas we have the responsibility of continuing and improving our leadership.
- in the year just past the student movement at Saskatoon strove to break out of its traditional role: first there was an attempt to gain a foothold in Colleges outside Arts and Education and then, concurrently, the attempt to move beyond the campus. In any respects this took us away from the centre of the contradictions within the bourgeois university. The positive aspects were offset to a great extent by a partial withdrawal from students per se. Organizationally this meant a withdrawal from SDU (whose limitations were becoming apparent) and a focus on CSM, even on the campus.
- in some respects at least we gave up our somewhat independent existence on campus only to find ourselves subordinate, in practice, to the SLF and NFU bureaucracies.
- in the meantime demands which we had initiated began to be picked up by more moderate students (e.g. discipline and course unions). Caught in the winds of new left opinion we found ourselves hop-skipping and jumping from issue to issue, idea to idea. Our failure to follow-up left any initiative in many areas in the hands of those who could not follow through, let-a-lone take the struggle to a higher level. (In other cases we did not know how to follow through. We were conspicuously unprepared -- as with the registration crisis last fall. This thoroughly unsatisfactory approach to "issues" can only generate frustration and thereby withdrawal in favor of "greener fields".)
- the contradictions of CSM and the nature of SDU as an issue-action group led to a failure on our part to carry on a high level of general propaganda on campus. Only within the short-lived framework of SSM did we do much general propaganda.

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Assessment (cont)

- one of the perpetual problems on campus has been that of organization. This situation still poses problems: it will be necessary to work, to some extent, in broad formations (e.g. course unions or any ad hoc organization that may arise around any given issue). At this point there is no apparent leadership for any multi-issue radical organization on campus other than YS.

expand: re: other people & their
probable work areas.

"+ this may change"

Towards a Program of Activities

a) General:

- any attempt to plan a program for campus activities and actions is necessarily tentative: we must be flexible in both our demands and work in order to most effectively seize each and every opportunity to join in, lead and raise the level of struggle.
- to begin the year we will have eight comrades on campus. We are also in a very favourable position (because of a conjuncture of various circumstances including our past work and planned programs) to recruit several people rather rapidly. This gives us the possibility of carrying an impressive amount of activities on campus. Our hegemony in the student left is virtually guaranteed even at this point.
- because of the balance of members within the Local, members of the Campus fraction will also be ~~somewhat~~ **involved** in other Local activities in a major way. We can turn this to our advantage: e.g. the Civic Election.
- much of our work on campus can readily involve non-Ysers and we should attempt, as much as possible, to minimize the amount of man/woman power we put into those of our activities where other radicals can take active roles (e.g. course unions, VMO).
- if this is done successfully we can carry on a much wider spectrum of activities. It will also mean that we can both recruit new people and exert programmatic influence on the milieu(s) in which we work. This is predicated on our ability to have full grasp on each and all of our activities and a healthy internal life.
- our past centrist/New Leftist orientation prevented us from being consistent. On the one hand this led to our abandoning of certain issues at a time when they were beginning to be broadly accepted (e.g. Open Decision-Making) and on the other hand to our leaping into new areas without adequate preparation. These errors must be eliminated. We must retread some of our steps and resume leadership in the sphere of anti-authoritarian struggles and demands of long-standing, such as the demand for universal accessibility. On the other hand we can benefit by the sporadic propaganda already carried out which ties in to the Red University strategy. With a suitable organizational form and program the latter theme can now be systematically developed without any retreat from its component, anti-authoritarian demands.
- the following program assumes that our central organizational vehicle will be YS. We should not act as a faction within any centrist formation such as SDU. This, however, should not preclude our working within ad hoc formations that may arise and we will necessarily carry on continuous work in mass-type formations such as the VMO and Course Unions.
- our activity on Campus will take on three forms:
 - a) propaganda (both general and specific) to which we must give great attention and use all means available...
 - b) closely related to our specific propaganda there will be certain actions bringing us into confrontation with the university administration.
 - c) general activities: Vietnam, any actions not directly related to the University's administrative hierarchy.

B) Program and Activities

i) Registration Crisis:

- the first action of SDU last fall was around the question of problems in Registration: the exclusion of students from classes of their choice because of overcrowding and short budgeting, especially in Arts and Education. SDU raised several demands relating to the crisis some of which raised the broader issue of open decision-making. These demands were adopted by the SRC (which, typically, passively mouthed support) and had broad acceptance among the student body.
- SDU failed to carry the issue through (either in terms of the specific demands which tend to evaporate to some extent after the term is underway or the longer term demands). Over 400 people attended a rally that could have been better prepared.
- this year the registration situation will undoubtedly be worse (despite administrative attempts to hide it). We have time to prepare an adequate response and to use it to raise the more general issues that deserve our attention during the rest of the year. The demands should be pretty well the same as last year with more emphasis on the general features:
 - 1) open the university's books at all levels;
 - 2) all decisions relating to budgeting be made openly (i.e. meeting must be publicized, agendas made available etc.);
 - 3) any student may register in any class they choose, regardless of the number in the class (no limited enrollment, except as it pertains to space in which case additional classes should be added etc.);
 - 4) no ~~fees~~ shall be charged for class or section transfers at any time...
- within this framework we should ~~propagandize~~ raise the whole question of financing, pointing out both the struggles that have already been carried on as a result of it and the causes for the situation. In many ways this is an opportunity to recount the Autonomy Crisis et al and begin our propaganda about the hinterland economy and capitalism.
- follow-up:
 - 1) the major demands will not evaporate. We should focus on them in order to carry the struggle as far as possible. The specific form it takes will have to be determined by us once the response is clearer.
 - 2) The specific demands can be carried on the basis of next year's budgeting.
 - 3) the issue of ODM can and should be linked closely to Course Union work. Since many of the decisions about class size take place at the departmental level we can follow-through in this way too.

(Paul & other comrades)

ii) Socialist Students Conference:

- the SSC should be used by us as a kicking off point for our campus work for the year. To make this as effective and clear as possible we should prepared a printed outline

of our aims and activities for the Conference and possibly have an open discussion of it shortly after the SSC ~~with~~ at an open meeting on campus.

-we should ensure that we have a list of all S'toon Campus people who attend the SSC.

-SSC should also be a kicking off point for WLM work on Campus this year. ...

(various comrades, the cttee)

Vietnam Mobilization Committee:

-this will be one of our main work areas and emphases. We are in a good position in this respect because there was a fairly active VMC on Campus last year. Initially 3-4 comrades should work on this area with emphasis on building the VMC as an active organization carrying a variety of programs.

-the main area of activity in the fall will be building for the Oct. 31st IDP. This should be commenced immediately so that the SSC can be used to build support and involve new people in Vietnam work.

-the VMC should: hook into Seminar 71, register as a campus group and prepare a budget, carry films and general education and develop relations with other anti-war groups...

-the VMC should consider making special attempts to involve science students and other Colleges by carrying meetings that relate the war to their area of study etc...

(Monica, Ron, Ullrich and 1 Ham. comrade)

Propaganda:

-Sheaf (2 comrades: Monica, Paul??)

-regular literature sales (bi-weekly at Marquis and at major events) -- Ullrich & comrades

-campus forums: we should probably not engage in a regular series of forums. A combination of meetings relating to current issues, YS/LSA comrades on tour and some education forums of our own should do. (HRS et al)

-rather than attempting a regular publication such as the River Tiddler we can meet any need not covered above by issuing YS Bulletins or position papers. This would only be in conjunction with popularized issues...

-as well as our specific propaganda we should popularize the Red University strategy as much as possible.

iv) Seminar 71:

-2 comrades....

v) Course Unions

-the emergence of Course Unions at Saskatoon Campus is based primarily in a) the orientation of student radicalism in Canada over the past two years and b) the struggles for open decision-making. In CU's radicalism is reflected in the specific area of study of students and the most immediate academic structures they face...

-CU's are still in a very primitive state. None are capable, at this point, of mobilizing any great number of people. The ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ deep-rooted conservatism of most of the Departments in which CU's have the most short-term potential (social sciences etc) means that CU's will

- develop only in opposition to the present departmental structure. Even the most reformist demands have been turned down --- the potential is fairly high....
- two dimensions are implicit in course unions: the anti-authoritarian dimension and the critique of course content. Our orientation should, by-and-large, be to the former. Demands around open decision-making and democratizing departmental structures are most useful at this point. These demands have a much more universal content than the criticism of particular courses and disciplines within the bourgeois university. In this way they tie into the broader anti-authoritarian demands being raised within the university as a whole.
 - the criticism of course content will inevitably arise as the left grows and radical ideas spread. This is particularly true in terms of the goal of the Red University: "Who does the university serve?" But this should not be a focus for us because 1) we lack the time and resources and 2) the broader student struggle is not yet near the level of this kind of activity...
 - wrt CUs we should: conduct some general propaganda about course unions (perhaps trying to sponsor inter-CU meetings), have comrades participate in CUs in their Dept. while encouraging others to take leadership and carry committee-work....

(Paul, Rich)

vi) College of Education:

- the proposal to work towards as radical caucus in STF should be a focus for comrades in Educ. The tentative program for the caucus could serve as a focus for discussion in the College which might also host a provincial meeting of radical teachers...
 - other work: co-operation with WLM in propaganda in Ed., course union work, NDP/Waffle ...
- (Ron, Monica?, & Comer -- in absentia)

vii) Agribusiness and the University:

- the interpenetration of the university and the hinterland economy is, perhaps, most amply evident from the extensive control of agribusiness on Campus which penetrates almost every College in one way or another. This is particularly significant because of growing militancy among farmers (and in light of the Task Force Report).
 - last year we did some minimal propaganda about this and held a counter-seminar series during Home and Farm week. We should continue our propaganda, complete and strengthen our research, and undertake the building of activities and possibly an action on this question. We can, at least, tie into any NDU activities and use outside speakers....
- (Thompson & Brown, prepare further recommendations)

viii) Pollution:

- one comrade should keep in touch with the activities of ECAC. They have a large budget and potential for a lot more. Educational work about pollution is a minimum aim for the group: it can tie into "making the U. serve the people". Specific actions or proposals may develop (or be developed) although the impact and fate of ECAC remains undetermined.

ix) Other:

- WLM (another report)
- Waffle & YND (1 or 2 comrades should be struck off to do the YND thing if an active group emerges). Waffle and NDP can be tied into many of our campus activities... espec. relations with John Richards etc.
- SRC elections
- frosh week... kicking off program...

Internal and Miscellaneous

- office and equipment (we should keep SDU room which may be cleaned up)... we should acquire a stock of equipment (silk screen, paper, PR material in general)...
- recognition as campus club and budget from SRC
- finances (above, films and other sources if possible);
-
- consolidation of the Local: we have the potential for reasonably rapid growth. Both this and the fact that we are a new Local means that we must carry on a healthy and fairly ambitious internal development: educationals etc.

In Conclusion

In summary it is worth re-iterating that our potential on Campus this year is quite good. The above program is incomplete in a number of ways, primarily in that we cannot yet predict the development of issues and have no definite conception of our own capacities.

Vote Socialist



President **Harry
KOPYTO**

Vice-
President **Ellie
KIRZNER**

- * Universal Accessibility
- * Student-Faculty Control of the University
- * Action to End the Vietnam War

For a Socialist Student Government

Our university has felt the reverberations of the great social upheavals of our times. The impact of the Vietnam war, the struggle for black liberation, student power, and the developing movement of the Quebecois have left their mark on campuses across the country.

Across the world the poor and oppressed, the alienated and humiliated, peasant, worker and student, are standing up one after the other and beginning to fight. They are struggling for a world free of war and violence, free from alienation and poverty, free from exploitation and mediocrity. The inevitable direction of this struggle is toward socialism.

All of us are challenged to join in this historic movement. We call on you, in the SAC elections, to take a stand on these, the greatest issues of our times, issues which confront U. of T. students with the greatest urgency.

We need a SAC which represents our interests-- which represents the developing student movement. On March 10 vote for the socialist candidates--

President ***Harry Kopyto***

**Vice-
President** ***Ellie Kirzner***

For SAC Representatives Vote *****

BILL DYER 1st year law, faculty rep.

TED HOUGHAM 2nd yr hrs, Eng. Victoria

RON HUGH 1st year phys-ed--faculty rep.

ALICE KLEIN 1st year soc & phil, Innis College

DALE RITCH 1st year geography, Victoria

ABIE WEISFELD 1st yr MPC, New College

KIRZNER-KOPYTO CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
32 Cecil St. (1 block south of College
tel. 921-4627 1½ east of Spadina Ave.)

An Open Letter to the NDP Executive

November 16, 1969

Dear Sirs:

We write this letter to protest your refusal to maintain the YND organizer's grant, which we can only interpret, given our knowledge of your action, as intolerable in the light of democratic principles and a fatal precedent for the maintenance of the NDP as a dynamic party of working people. We are led to believe, in short, that your action was not motivated as much by any dispassionate commitment to economy as it was by a thoroughly reprehensible antagonism to the politics of the present NDY organizer, Richard Thompson.

As such your actions offend both the principles of socialist democracy and of YND autonomy. The position of organizer is of course a very important and very powerful one. And there can be no doubt that ideological considerations should play as important a part in choosing an organizer as does technical competence. It was the former consideration, we are led to believe (if only because Richard Thompson's organizational ability is unquestionable), which prompted your action in suspending the YND organizer's grant. The debate within the executive, as we understand it, centered around Mr. Thompson's essay "Socialism and the NDP" which appeared in the quarterly journal Our Generation (Vol. 6, No. 4). That essay, which we will explain briefly below, provides a challenging critique of the development of the New Democratic Party and of Social-Democratic politics in general. It can be dismissed neither by casting aspersions on the political intentions of its author nor by attempting to purge him from the organizer's position within the party's youth organization. Mr. Thompson's critical efforts deserve some better reply and it is the democratic responsibility of the executive to make clear both to Mr. Thompson and the party membership, its answer to his criticisms. A party of working people should not operate on the principals of private enterprise whereby individuals can be fired at the whims of their "superiors". On the contrary, all such decisions should be made only with the fullest possible discussion within the party as a whole. As it stands you have tried and condemned Mr. Thompson without the slightest discussion in the party of the issues involved and without the opportunity for him to defend his own position, either publicly or before the executive. We can only hope that he may be granted an appeal.

If our understanding of this decision is correct, the action of the NDP executive presents itself as a clear violation of the ideological autonomy of the YND. That principle has of course always been somewhat tendentious, as ideological autonomy accompanied by financial dependence must always be. But that principle has been persistently maintained by the YND even if at times it seems that the NDP leadership recognises the principle only at its convenience. Surely the YND is correct when it argues that ideological autonomy is essential to the maintenance of a vital youth organization. If the youth is to be relegated the position of kowtowing to various interests in the senior party, if its major reason for existence is seen in performing organizational chores for the party (licking envelopes and stuffing mail boxes), then even the most committed of party youth will lose heart. If on the other hand its purpose is seen in developing the critically conscious young people

capable of leading the party in the future, people who are self-initiating and intellectually independent rather than moulded in the bureaucratic image, then the autonomy of the YND is essential, however much that may occasionally embarrass various levels of the party bureaucracy.

Yet the treatment given Mr. Thompson is not exceptional. Last spring, in violation of national YND autonomy the youth grant was severely cut — for political reasons. Only last winter the editor of the Commonwealth refused to publish an article on the subject of women's rights against the wishes of the editor of the youth page in the party newspaper. Incidentally, the author of the article, Jean Rands, a former secretary of the Saskatchewan New Democratic Youth, was refused membership in both the Ontario and British Columbia youth organizations, in both cases at the initiative of the senior party, even though her political beliefs in no way contravened the political definition of membership. One does not wish to spread alarm, but we can only wonder if the treatment conferred on Richard Thompson is the preliminary stage of an inquisition such as has in the past wrecked the NDY in Both Ontario and British Columbia.

Richard Thompson's essay, "Socialism and the NDP", has to our knowledge received no public discussion within the Saskatchewan NDP. Such is only indicative of a certain irresponsibility on the part of the party leadership and the party newspaper, the Commonwealth. The time for such a discussion is surely now when the party is feeling such a tremendously significant impact from the left. The recent federal convention of the NDP demonstrated a most significant 'left' sentiment in the party, a sentiment to which surely the party leadership must grant some recognition. Any discussion which takes place, we are sure you will agree, can only contribute to the vitality of a party only so recently suffering from a lack of self-critical imagination.

Thompson's essay discusses the NDP within the context of several generalizations derived from a study of the history of social-democratic parties. He is particularly concerned with the inadequacies of the social-democratic strategy in initiating the fundamental transformation of society prerequisite to the solution of the problems faced by working people. The primary objective of social-democratic organizations has become no more than the humane administration of the capitalist status quo rather than the fundamental social change embodied in the Socialist idea. He argues that the party's transformation from a mass movement into an electoral party has contributed to the party's bureaucratization, the isolation of its leadership from working people. For if electoral politics is seen as the only activity of the party, if the party fails to organize people on a day-to-day basis around the problems which confront them in their work and in their lives then it abrogates its responsibility to its constituency and it fails not only to contribute to the solution of the problems working people face but in so doing handicaps itself for even electoral forms of politics. If poverty — and relative poverty — exploitation, and oppression are the day-to-day reality of countless working people in this province, then politics must be everyday activity for New Democrats. And that means more than speeches at election time and press releases in between. What it does mean is organizing people both within and outside the NDP, in extra-parliamentary as well as parliamentary forms of struggle, against those forces in our society which stand in the way of social change. Such can only be accomplished by adopting a program which expresses the real needs of working people, not one geared to satis-

ifying the media-induced prejudices of the "suburban middle-class voter".

Much of Mr. Thompson's essay is written as a response to the disillusionment with the NDP felt by significant segments of the Socialist left. This cynicism, obviously dangerous to the health of the party, has afflicted many of the party's hardest working activists to the point where they have dropped out of even minimal activity in the party. But this phenomenon is particularly acute among young people, who regard the party's present policies and bureaucratic organization as thoroughly inimicable to the principles of Socialism and the interests of working people. There is a strong tendency for young people in their impatience with the senior party, to reject even the possibility that the NDP can make a positive contribution to the workers' and farmers' movement. Yet the party leadership has failed to give any positive response to this unfortunate and growing tendency.

Seen in this light, an appeal from one of the better known and certainly one of the most competent student organizers in the country for young Socialists to join and work in the NDP on the organized and principled basis of winning its membership to radical Socialist ideas, might appear as a not insignificant contribution to the development of the party. We can therefore conclude that the decision of the provincial executive was ill-considered and request that the YND organizer's grant be restored.

Yours fraternally,

Howard Brown
City Park-University

Karen Kopperud
City Park-University

We Appeal to the Delegates

THE EXPELLED AND THE LABOUR PARTY

According to Bert Gargrave, U.S.W.A. district representative:

It's necessary to make the NDP a real working class party and not be overly concerned with creating a favourable image. The organized labor movement must play a more decisive rôle. Unionists have to run as the party's candidates, and not leave the "intellectuals" to do so - those who live off the backs of the workers and who are the source of the dangerous tendencies towards merger with the Liberals. The NDP must be a labor-oriented party with a program oriented to the working people. It is high time we started to break a few eggs and begin to take the lead in shaping party policy and organizing it. (At a seminar of the PEC of The Toronto and District Labour Council, May 25)

Do these ideas sound familiar? They do to us. We the expelled members of the NDP have strongly advocated the very ideas. Brother Gargrave is now expressing since the foundation of the Party.

TIME FOR A NEW ORIENTATION

Brother Gargrave's speech reflects a general mood in the NDP; that the time has come to rethink our party's program and orientation. We have suffered severe defeats in Manitoba, B.C. and Saskatchewan, and have been unable to make any headway in other elections. In Ottawa, our MP's act more like liberally-minded individualists than as representatives of the Party: they have been publically divided over every issue from the new flag to the SIU trusteeship.

The most dynamic event in Canadian politics, the not-so "Quiet Revolution" in French Canada, is passing us by. The creation by Quebec NDPers of the nationalist oriented "Parti Socialiste du Quebec" has only met hostility from our federal leadership.

Canada is facing a growing crisis on many fronts. The "liberal" solutions to end unemployment with public works have failed; labour-management cooperation to stop strikes has failed; "using our influence in NATO" to win peace has failed; biculturalism as an answer to the demands of the working people of Quebec has failed!

If the NDP is stagnating today, it is because such "liberally-minded" solutions have obviously failed to solve the problems we face and because appeals to "intellectuals" cannot win the support of the millions of working people across Canada.

WITCHHUNT IN THE PARTY

At the same meeting that Gargrave spoke another delegate pointed out that it doesn't help attract unionists to the Party when anyone who comes up with new ideas is attacked as a "communist or trotskyist". You certainly can't build a party in an atmosphere of a witchhunt.

The provincial executive expelled us because our ideas were supposedly contrary to the philosophy of the NDP. If Brother Gargrave's speech is symptomatic of a general mood in the party, the frustrations of the past four years are forcing us to rethink our whole program and orientation. To do so, we, obviously

From overleaf:

... must have the most open discussion, that carefully considers all new ideas. In such a discussion, we are confident that a growing number of NDPers would come to the same conclusion that has been the basic conviction of the expelled -- that the NDP can only win power as a labour party with a socialist program. Far from representing an "alien philosophy", our ideas are the road to success for the NDP.

REINSTATE THE EXPELLED

We did not at the time of our expulsions, and we do not now support another political party. We continue to work to build the NDP and to win an NDP government. We publish a newspaper, the Young Socialist Forum; the only regularly appearing Canada-wide youth paper supporting the NDP. Sold at high schools across Canada, 700 copies were sold at high schools in the Toronto area alone last June. In this way we are doing the basic educational work of winning Canadian youth to socialism and to the NDP.

Meanwhile, the spirit of the expulsions continues to haunt the Party. Another dozen young members have been expelled in B.C. Dozens of NDP members have expressed their fear of talking about radical views lest they be branded as "trotskyists" and shunted out of the Party.

When we appealed to the provincial Council to reverse the decision of the Executive to expel us, we found the Council sharply divided, with many members bitter about the Executive's action. In what was probably the key vote, presented by the Executive virtually as a vote of confidence, the expulsions were sustained by only 26 votes to 20.

We now appeal to the Ontario Convention to reverse this decision. It was always a tradition of the CCF that expelled members have the right of appeal to conventions. This democratic guarantee no longer exists in the NDP constitution. But while this convention is not compelled to reconsider our expulsions, it is the constitutionally supreme body of the Party and in fact, it is morally obligated to do so. We, therefore, urge this Convention to rescind our expulsions and reinstate us in the Party.

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The following is a copy of "evidence" which Mr Clifton sent to the Provincial executive accompanying a demand for our expulsion and notifying it that there were others on whom he had not yet done enough research.

MRS ANNA WILKIE

One Susan Dodds completed a form and mailed it with Two Dollars to the "League for Socialist Action", Box 281, Richmond Hill. She received back a receipt (Exhibit No 1) to her for Two Dollars, "Donation to R.Hill L.S.A. and signed Anna Wilkie. Mrs Wilkie is also Treasurer of the York Committee to End the War in Vietnam (Newspaper item, Exhibit No 2)

MRS BEATRICE BRYANT

Mrs Bryant is Secretary of the York Committee to End the War in Vietnam (Exhibit No 2) Some time after the arrival of the receipt referred to, Susan Dodds received a letter from Mrs Bryant, saying that she had been given her address to * Jim Chisholm, and inviting her to a meeting of the York Committee. Susan Dodds also received an invitation to a meeting of "Toronto Young Socialists" (Nos 3 & 4). John Sutherland son of one of our members was invited by Archie McGugan to a meeting at Mrs Bryant's house to see a film. There were five young people there, with Jim Chisholm acting as chairman. They called themselves "Young Socialists". (His statement is No 5)

Jim Chisholm has been brought to two recent meetings of the NDP Riding Association by Mrs Bryant. I am informed that he has been refused membership in the Young New Democrats on the ground of supporting another political party.

MR ARCHIE MCGUGAN

A circular sent out and headed "YORK N.D.P." appeals to the recipient to attend a demonstration at the City Hall on Easter Sunday, and to contribute financially, and "For further information or transportation contact Archie McGugan, 889 1694". This was not authorized by the York Centre Riding Association. There is no "York" riding; nonetheless the circular suggests official N.D.P. support in the area (No 6)

Jim Chisholm rose to oppose the passing of a by-law at a General Meeting of the Riding Association. His right to do so, not being a member, was challenged by a member present, who moved that he be asked to withdraw. The motion passed, and after an argument, he left. He said he was a member of the Young New Democrats. He is not and there is + branch of the YND in the Riding. Mr McGugan left with him, and came back ten or fifteen minutes later.

Mr McGugan invited John Sutherland to a Young Socialist meeting (No 5)

MRS HELEN COWAN

A circular was received by Susan Dodds, inviting her to come to a meeting at the house of Mrs Cowan, to hear Dick Fidler, Managing Editor of the Workers' Vanguard, and adding, "For further information, phone Jim Chisholm 221 8129. (No 7)

* probably "to" should be by
+ probably "no" was left out here

We have now heard that a rumor is being circulated and allegedly accepted as fact by one of the members of the hearing Committee, that Mrs Bryant was expelled at one time from the NDP and "snuck back in under a family membership". This is completely false of course and can be verified by looking up the records of the NDP.

And though we have been unvigilant in guarding democracy in our Riding, have we harmed the NDP in any way by our actions, during the 8 years that some of us have served on the executive, as delegates to Conventions, etc. We think not and we would ask our fellow members to demand of the Provincial Executive to judge the accused totally on their actions in the NDP thus establishing that ideas can be expressed freely in the NDP without fear of punishment and that only actions detrimental to the party shall be condemned.

Anna Wilkie
Bea Bryant
Archie McGugan

(Helen Cowan has moved away)

The following motion was carried overwhelmingly by York North (which at one time formed part of our Riding)
Motion by Ann Griffiths, seconded by Don McFadyen
"That York North Riding Association notify the Provincial President, Executive and Council that we object to expulsions from the New Democratic Party on the basis that some members have ideas not shared by all other members; such expulsions can only have deleterious effects on the New Democratic Party. A truly democratic party can only condemn actions which are detrimental to the party; not ideas or beliefs held by members.
-signed Molly McManingwell, Secretary York North 11/19/69

We would be most happy if you would discuss this in your Riding Association and send resulting motions to the Provincial Executive, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ Spadina, Toronto and a copy to B. Bryant, 408 Cairns Drive, Richmond Hill (tel 884 3319). You are free to circulate the charges and our statement as widely as you wish.

B. Bryant

408 Cairns Dr.,
Richmond Hill,
Ontario

Young SOCIALIST Forum

32 CECIL ST.

9.10.

1969.

youth demand u. s. withdrawal

American warplanes have repeatedly bombed North Vietnam. The White House threatens to continue these acts of war indefinitely. The attacks are in response to the growing success of the rebels in the Vietnamese civil war, and their closely approaching victory --not, as the U.S. states, in "retaliation" for North Vietnamese "instigation" of Viet Cong attacks.

The evidence of mass support for the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) is overwhelming. Even the most biased observers report that villages considered "safe" by the South Vietnam government continually turn out to be full of the Viet Cong and their supporters, that government troops and their American "advisors" continually complain that they can't tell the ordinary peasants from the rebels, that rebel fighters display tremendous courage in the face of murderous American military equipment, that the government troops are unwilling to fight the rebels, and that the Viet Cong control over 80 % of the country.

The rebels represent land reform and socialism: and end to the rampant starvation and squalor, rapid industrialization, and social progress. The Khanh dictatorship cannot grant any of these. And no amount of bombing of North Vietnam can stop the struggle so firmly rooted in the south.

The Canadian government is deeply involved in the situation. It has contributed equipment and money to the corrupt South Vietnamese dictatorship. As a member of the International Control Commission, it is committed to supervising the Geneva 1954 accord, which states that there are to be no foreign military armed forces in South Vietnam, and no foreign intervention in the affairs of the Southeast Asian nations. Yet it has blatantly closed its eyes to the American military buildup in South Vietnam, and the vicious war being conducted there entirely on the initiative of the Western powers. Nor has it said a single word of protest against the American bombings of the neighboring nations of Cambodia, Laos, and North Vietnam -- whose sovereignty the ICC is also supposed to be supervising.

On Feb. 10, Pearson attempted to whitewash the American action. He warned against criticising the bombings, terming them "retaliatory of deterrent reactions against Communist Viet Cong attacks". And he spoke of the danger of Chinese domination of the area. This supposed danger seems a bit ludicrous when one recalls that the only foreign troops in all Indochina are American! And that the South Vietnamese people support the Viet Cong!

The people of the world cannot stand idly by while these brutal acts of aggression occur, and indeed while the barbaric civil war in South Vietnam continues. And they will not be silent. As the University of Toronto paper Varsity stated on Feb. 8, "Every Canadian, every U of T student, is threatened by this danger. Every Canadian, every U of T student, is guilty of this wickedness unless he speaks out against it.... The war in Vietnam is your war, unless you disavow it".

Let it be known that today we disavow the war against the Vietnamese people.



Dec 27.29

University of Toronto

***Join the International Socialist Student Movement
Attend the first Canadian Socialist Student Conference***

HART HOUSE U OF T

feature speakers

films

panels

workshops

For further information write; The Young Socialists, 32 Cecil Street, Toronto2B
or contact The Young Socialists on your campus



Join **the young** **socialists**

in Montreal
Oct. 11-13

*Tariq Ali,
world renowned
student leader,
guest speaker*



re transportation and accomodation
contact your YS local, YS campus
club or Toronto - 334 Queen St. W.,
Montreal - 226 est rue Ste. Catherine

Convention of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Hear

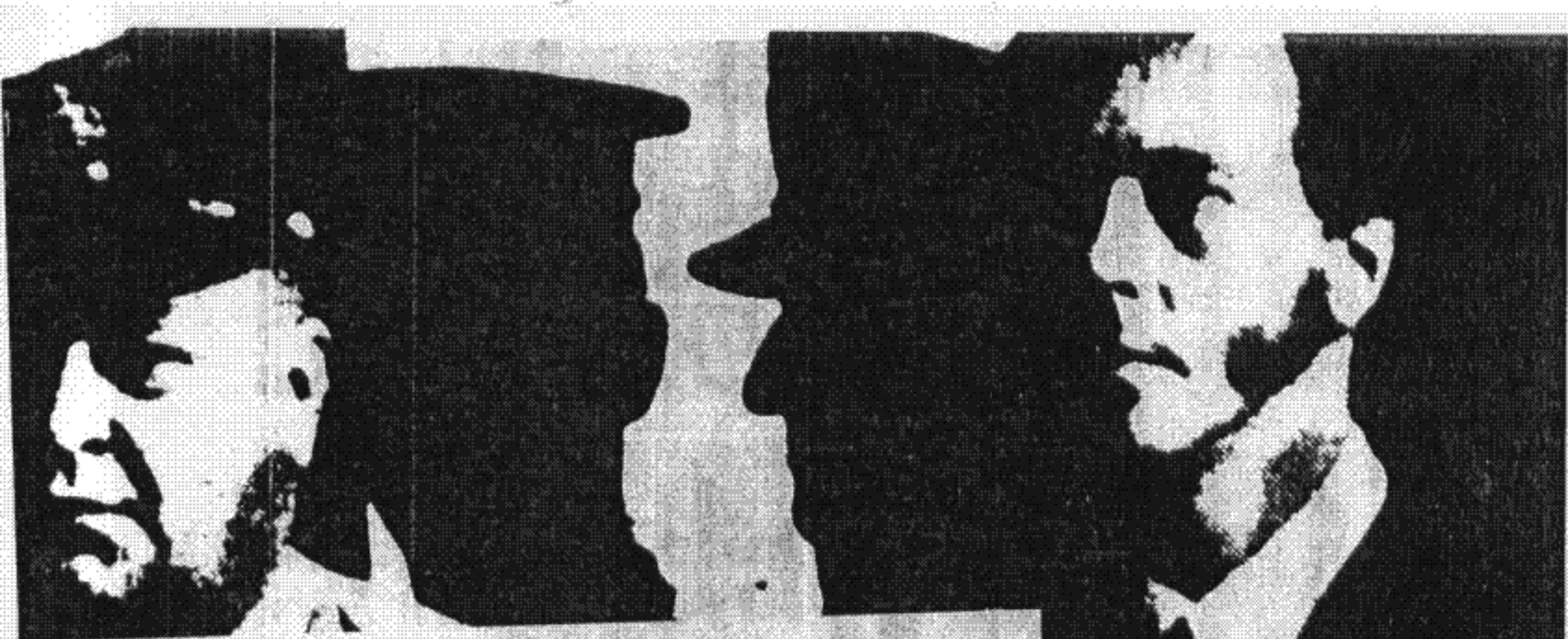
world famous student leader

TARIQ ALI



Yugoslavia's Dragana Stavijel; Cohn-Bendit and Tariq Ali

**The struggle against
imperialism & the
European student revolt**



Hear

Raymond Lemieux

on

president of La Ligue pour l'Integration
Scolaire. Faced with 6 charges, including
3 of sedition, having the maximum penalty
of life imprisonment, for his participation
in the struggle for all-French schools, he
is out on \$ 10,000 bail.

Mr. Lemieux will speak in English

VIVE
QUEBEC
LIBRE

sponsored by the Young Socialists

Financial Report - June, 1970

Some comrades are consistently behind on their dues and pledges. Other comrades have recently paid off large sums in back debts as old as 9 months. Only half the local paid for June - which is not good at all. It's not funny not to pay your dues, because you can't really say you're building the Movement unless you contribute to its financial resources, whatever you can afford.

Comrades should get into the habit of paying at the 1st of the month, without being told (the Treasurer spends 2 evenings a week, that's a week a month, reminding people), automatically like food and rent, because the money goes toward building the YS which is building the Revolution - with that much more money we can print that many more leaflets, add that many more pages to YSF - think what greater impact we could have if YSF was bi-weekly or weekly or 12 pages. We can hire more regional organizers, put out more pamphlets, organize more meetings. The Toronto local is the largest and therefore must bear the largest part of the finances that enable the Central Office to move out in these ways. You may not think 50¢ here or there is very much, but with our limited resources, it counts. We can't expand the Movement unless we expand its resources. Every comrade should have the goal of paying at least \$3.50 to cover our expenses to the C.O. For people with absolutely no money coming in, that's not possible, but they should think of ways of making it possible, of thinking as soon as I get ahead at all, I should make a pledge or raise my pledge. Because the Movement's the most important thing we've got going for us; it's this Movement, our Movement, that's going to change this society, and in our lifetimes, not only for us, but for the whole world; so anything we put into it now, we're going to get back 100-fold. Paying dues and pledges should be like the Cubans working voluntary overtime -- they see the more they put in, the more they get back, that the whole society is working for them, not at odds with them. The YS works for us - the more we put into it, the stronger and faster we can build the Revolutionary Movement, the sooner and more easily we'll win the benefits of a socialist society.

PAY YOUR DUES & PLEDGES NOW!

Comradely,

3Toronto YS Treasurer

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY < **LIVING****PERSONAL ESSAY**

Where have all the feminists gone?

tion if we want true equality.

Another way feminism has evolved can be explained in the way society's reaction to sexism has changed.

Debra Thompson, one of my former political science teaching assistants, believes the mechanisms by which sexism works have gone underground in Canadian society. Since they aren't as visible, feminism has had to work in more discreet ways.

"The realities of race and gender in this country either go unnoticed or are minimized," she says. "Your experience of racism and/or sexism is considered unique, personalized. We are told it is not a consequence of a systemic problem. The days of overt and legalized sexism/racism are over. We can't point to laws that we need to change. This reality leads to a culture of denial, whereby both women and men don't see patriarchy for what it is."

The gift of establishing formal and legal equality in Canada, given to us by the hard work of second-wave feminists, is a poisoned package. Yes, sexism is no longer in your face and a lot of oppression has been alleviated, but its covert nature can lead us to complacency.

Furthermore, we have to challenge whether the reaction to sexism is enough for the current feminist cause.

"Everything changes and evolves over time, so our responses have to change," Gorman says. "But I think without a conscious planned movement of solidarity and vibrancy, we are actually just reacting to one element at a time."

So, what has come out of my search for feminism? I feel confident stating that feminism isn't dead. Yes, it's more diffuse, more subtle. Our refusal to recognize the changes in feminism allows us to ignore it. The attitude that argues "if it isn't a second wave street demonstration, it isn't feminist" is damaging.

But we still have to be able to point



(Ed-Jacquie Henderson) REG INNELL / TORONTO STAR FILE PHOTO
In its heyday, feminism inspired demonstrations like this one held Aug. 26, 1970 at Nathan Phillips Square. Today, activists prefer cyberspace.

to something and claim: "That is feminism at work."

So, where have all the feminists gone?

A quick way to answer that is to Google "feminist activity." You will find websites for international feminist organizations, feminist academic articles and feminist blogs. The mass movement of the 1970s has translated over to the Internet.

Women are connecting with women (and feminist-minded men) through this new way of creating communities aimed at ending sexual discrimination.

The pulse of feminism is still beating strongly. But to find it, you have to listen a little harder.

Madeleine White, 22, is a women's studies student at the University of Toronto.

Young Socialists' Program for Student Action for a New Society



We are part of the most exciting development in recent history. Around the world, millions of students are joining the struggle against the poverty, pollution, racism, war and exploitation that plague our world.

The entire globe has been shaken by the revolt of youth — against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for liberation in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, and for socialist democracy in eastern Europe. The power of this revolt was dramatically shown in France, May 1968, when students sparked the greatest general strike in history, bringing the

government of this wealthy western nation to its knees.

In North America, the heartland of world imperialism, this ferment has encompassed millions of youth. In May, 1970, ten million American students took over their schools in protest against the invasion of Cambodia and the massacre of their fellow students. In October 1969 a hundred thousand Québécois students took to the streets in defense of their language.

Increasingly alienated, our generation is searching for alternatives to the present system. The

spokesmen for the status quo bewail the emergence of the "drop-out" generation. They invent hundreds of labels and thousands of explanations to disguise the truth — that capitalism is proving unable to meet the aspirations of a generation which realizes that the leaders of the "free world" are guilty of genocide.

Though our lives and conditions are different, though we speak different languages and live thousands of miles apart, though our struggles take different forms the youth of the world have a common goal — an end to oppression and exploitation.

What's Wrong ?

The roots of this rebellion lie in a system torn by insoluble contradictions — in a system which offers so much and which delivers so little, which has the ability to feed and clothe the world, but instead conducts monstrous wars and destroys our environment.

Vietnam

The most compelling factor in the rebellion has been the barbarity of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. In Canada, as around the world, students have been shocked and angered. They have mobilized to defend Vietnam's right to self-determination. This movement has exposed the fact that the Canadian government, in spite of its alleged neutrality in the war, wholeheartedly supports the U.S. war effort. It sells hundreds of millions of dollars worth of munitions to the U.S. yearly, and finances research in biological and chemical warfare, while its diplomatic representatives act as apologists and spies.

Canadian troops are trained in counter-guerrilla warfare in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Australia, Libya and within Canada. Canadian Armed forces have already been used against oppressed people in the Congo, in Korea, in the Middle East, in Cyprus, and... in Montreal!

Like the U.S. government, our "leaders" see their primary role in world affairs as protecting the foreign investments of big business. In the Spring of 1970 the people of Trinidad launched a massive uprising directed against racism, colonialism and Canadian imperialism that distorts their economy.

It has become clear that the Canadian government is not interested in defending the needs of the vast majority of the Canadian people. It has cooperated in the sell-out of our resources to U.S. imperialism and has done nothing to end the destruction of our rivers, lakes, forests and air by Canadian and foreign big business.

Quebec

The most powerful factor affecting Quebec students is the oppression of their nation. A key issue in the struggle has been the defense of the French language which is being destroyed because in Quebec, big business speaks English. Eighty per cent of the industry in Quebec is owned and controlled by Anglo-American corporations. To get a job,

let alone 'get ahead' in Quebec, one must speak English.

McGill, an opulent English-speaking university, financed by the people of Quebec, stands as an arrogant example of their oppression. Thousands of qualified French-speaking students cannot enter the few overcrowded French universities. The Quebecois need a French educational system which will serve their own needs, not those of Anglo-American capitalism. They need independence so they can free their nation from these imperialist interests.

Women

The school system plays a key role in maintaining the oppression of women. Women are denied the most basic democratic right of control of their own bodies. From a very young age, young women are taught to think of themselves as the second, 'weaker' sex. Their development as full human beings is stunted, as they are streamed away from any creative, intellectually stimulating courses into the traditional teaching, nursing, or commercial courses.

Women are trained to limit their goals to the capturing and holding of a man and the raising of children. Even before the completion of high school, many women are streamed out of the education system and into marriage. Women are denied their own history through the distortion and sup-

pression of the role women have played in developing society. Increasing numbers of women are no longer tolerating this situation and are building a growing movement for women's liberation.

Conformity

We are the children of the "third industrial revolution" — the age of atomic energy and automation. Our education is designed not to develop well-rounded human beings but to produce highly skilled workers to work in the most modern industries of production and destruction. Our high schools, colleges and universities have mushroomed into huge factories in which students are moulded to the needs of the profit system. Even Ph.D's sometimes can't find jobs. The day is gone when a university education was a guarantee of an income.

Nowhere is the meaninglessness of our education more apparent than in the high schools. In an era of great social convulsions, massive new challenges and opportunities for humanity, our schools teach that it is dangerous to think. The best student is the most obedient student. In an age when the world is fighting for a saner, more abundant and more democratic way of existence, high school students are denied even the basic rights of assembly, press, speech, and organization.





A Strategy for Change

Our education is meaningless because our schools are run in the interests of the corporations. The resources of the social science departments are available to bosses but not to unions; to governments, but not to oppressed peoples. The science departments design new weapons and pollutants. The Boards of Governors are dominated by corporation heads and political appointees, and the Boards of Education are run by the political parties of big business.

Any serious change in our education system must involve striking at the system which the schools serve. The schools cannot be made into islands of democracy and happiness in the midst of oppression and squalor.

We must build a movement to abolish capitalism in Canada and around the world, to establish a publically owned and democratically controlled society which puts people ahead of profit.

Students alone cannot change society. We must ally ourselves with the working people, who in their offices and factories face the same corporate domination we face, and who, like us, do not benefit from the present system. Above all, we must build links with the organized labor movement, which alone has the power to bring big business to its knees.

Any strategy for social change must include support for the labor movement's political arm, the New Democratic Party. The NDP marks a big step forward for Canadian workers — a break with the political parties of big business. But the NDP's image-conscious leadership and its program of reforming capitalism will never bring socialism. We must support those forces in the NDP fighting for a socialist program.

The best way to build this alliance is

to project the student movement as a serious force for social change, and as an example to other sectors of society seeking alternatives. We must fight for change where we are: in the schools and universities.

Central to the fight for student-faculty control of the schools — for control by the majority — must be the demand that the universities break with big business, and serve the interests of the majority of Canadians, the working people, whose taxes finance our educational institutions, and whose children attend them.

Mass Action

The student movement in the United States pointed the way in May 1970. The student strikes that swept the country didn't close the campuses down, they opened them up. Under the banner "Build the Antiwar University," the universities were transformed by mass, democratic actions, into instruments of social struggle. All the resources of the multiversity, from meeting space and mimeograph machines to labs, were put to service in the fight against the war.

In Canada, the developing student movement has already seen some inspiring victories — the victory of the sit-in for day care at the University of Toronto, the right to hold high school Vietnam assemblies in many cities, the McMaster cafeteria struggle, the successful occupation by Native people of Blue Quills School in Alberta.

It is vital for the future of the student movement that the lessons of these victories — and the lessons of

other, less successful, struggles be understood and absorbed.

These victories were won through mass action. The broadest possible support was sought both within the school and in the community at large: it is large numbers united around clear demands which administrations and school boards fear — not "spark" actions by tiny minorities which can easily be isolated and repressed.

They were based on democratic decision-making, including all groups and individuals supporting the struggle. Only if the students control the leadership and the program will they become wholeheartedly involved in the struggle and consider it their own.

Finally, they were based on clearly formulated, democratic demands. "Smash imperialism" and similar slogans may be an exciting to a handful, but they turn the majority of students off, sharply curtail community support, and make it easier for the authorities to accuse the students of provoking violence. A demand like "End Campus Complicity in the Vietnam War," on the other hand, clearly places the onus on the authorities to end university support of U.S. aggression and it has the ability to mobilize large numbers of students.

These struggles have shown that a strong student movement can be built on a broad range of questions, from purely local issues to the war in Vietnam. The following is a partial list of demands advanced by the Young Socialists, corresponding to the present needs of the student movement, and leading to a broader struggle for a university that serves people, not profit.

FREE EDUCATION.

- * Universal Accessibility. Abolish tuition and residence fees. Free textbooks. Salaries for students.
- * Guaranteed jobs on graduation. Summer jobs in the field of study.

DEMOCRATIZE THE SCHOOLS.

- * Control of all educational institutions, including hiring and firing, by students, faculty, and support staff.
- * Full civil liberties for all students, including freedom of speech, assembly, dress, organization and criticism.
- * End religious discrimination by abolishing religious exercises. No public funds for separate schools.

END CAMPUS COMPLICITY.

- * End school support to the Vietnam war. No military research on campus.
- * Place the resources of the schools at the disposal of the antiwar movement.
- * Vietnam Assemblies and the right to organize against the war in every school.
- * Reveal all investments, holdings and contracts of the university and its officers.
- * No big business recruiting on campus.
- * No cops on campus. No cooperation

with the RCMP. No secret files on students.

- * End Americanization of the university by getting big business off the boards, and establishing student-faculty-support staff control.

SUPPORT NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION.

- * For French as the language of instruction in Quebec schools
- * Control by Native people of all Native education.
- * For Native peoples' Study departments. Tell the truth about the history of the Native people to all students.

- * All schools to be available for cultural and educational activities of direct interest to Quebecois, Native peoples and minority groups.
- * For the right of minority groups to study in their own language.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION.

- * End discrimination against women. Special assistance and preferential hiring to overcome social-psychological barriers to equality.
- * Women's studies departments controlled by women. Write women back into history.
- * Free birth control information and devices available in the schools. Co-

educational sex-education beginning in public school. University hospitals to provide free, legal abortions, on demand.

- * Day care centers on campus, financed by the university, controlled by those who use them.

EDUCATION FOR OUR FUTURE.

- * First rate facilities and instruction in working class districts.
- * End automatic streaming of working class students into commercial/ industrial programs.
- * Teach the truth about labor's history, and the struggle of working people for a better society.
- * University and Board of Education support for unionization of all employees.

- * Collective bargaining, including the right to strike, for professors and teachers.

A WORLD TO WIN.

Transforming society requires more than a good program — it requires organization. The Young Socialists are organizing to change society. Through the struggle for such demands, we seek to unite Canadian students in the struggle for socialism.

The future is ours if we fight for it. Join the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.



Join the Young Socialists

St. John's: c/ o Gord Stone, Box 2063
Fredericton: 748 Forest Hill Rd.
Montreal: 226 est. rue Ste-Catherine,
861-3018
Ottawa: 365-1/ 2 Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054
Toronto: 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618

Hamilton: #23, 41 King William, 529-9302
Guelph: c/ o Jim Onyschuk, 350 Paisley Rd.,
Apt. C, 822-1035
Kitchener-Waterloo: Box 921, Kitchener,
576-2293
London: c/ o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar,
451-8252

Winnipeg: 211 Graham Ave., 943-7791 or 452-8518
Brandon: c/ o Student Union, Brandon University
Saskatoon: Box 704, 242-8175
Edmonton: 9686 Jasper, 424-7644
Vancouver: 1208 Granville, 688-5924

- I would like to join the Young Socialists.
- I would like further information about the Young Socialists.

Name
Address
Phone

We the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes view the government cutbacks on graduate grants and building grants to universities and other rumored cutbacks as a severe blow to the already inadequate post-secondary education in Ontario. These moves are a direct response to the recession in the economy. The ruling class is rationalizing its economic difficulties by making the students and working people of Canada pay.

The economy is faced for the first time with massive unemployment of skilled workers--university graduates. Almost half the unemployed are between the ages of 14 to 24. In a recent survey conducted on 1,400 firms hiring of professionals is down 30% on a cross-country scale and from 40% to 80% in the Prairies and the Atlantic region. The recession, as always in a capitalist economy, has severely affected the students and working people.

Recent graduates from post-secondary institutions have been faced with the scandalous choice of existing on welfare in lieu of more drastic steps such as "hacking cab" in Metro Toronto or leaving the country in order to find work. The latter trend is blatantly shown by a survey of 624 Phd graduates in 1969; of these 228 had left the country and 33 were either unemployed or unaccounted for by the spring of 1970. It is indeed time to question the value and direction of a society in which there are such crying human needs not being met while thousands of highly skilled people are walking the streets or leaving the country.

The government has attempted to rationalize the cutbacks in education by saying that education is becoming too expensive and is not meeting the needs of society. They say that the universities have to be run to serve the needs of industry more diligently. It is not enough that the Boards of Governors are dominated by big business magnates.

Millions are wasted every year on armaments expenditures and there is no capital gains tax in this country. Why doesn't the ruling class stop defense spending or institute a tax on capital gains. Perhaps because this would cut down their profits and serve human needs.

The ruling class is cutting back on university spending because they have more than enough skilled labor for the time-being. They want to cut down on government spending. This of course does not mean that needs have been met but that they cannot profitably employ much more skilled labor and so they cut back and let Phds walk the streets.

The working people of Canada pay for the universities and yet they get very little benefit from them. Their sons and daughters are underrepresented and with the cutbacks and fee increases will be even more underrepresented in the future. The universities could be meeting the needs of the working people - fighting pollution, unemployment, mental illness, the Americanization of Canada, the oppression of women, Quebecois, Indians and other groups. The universities should be centers for organizing against the ills of this society. The universities could turn out thousands of skilled personnel who could serve people's needs instead of the needs of industry. A university run on this basis and not to perpetuate the profits of industry could be greatly expanded instead of cutback.

Operating budgets should not be trimmed in post-secondary institutions but rather the schools should come to serve the needs of the working people and oppressed groups. All tuition and residence fees should be abolished and a living wage should be paid to all students. This would enable anyone to go to university without financial barriers. It would also free students from the financial dependence on their parents.

THE YS/LJS RECRUITER

1972
vol. 1
no. 1

A mass revolutionary socialist youth movement? Presidents elected at Simon Fraser and Champlain College; tremendous increases in votes in all campus elections; hundreds of students attending socialist educational conferences; one hundred subscriptions to the Young Socialist list in a month and a half; seven new locals since the convention, fifty new members, and many more locals to come; young socialists everywhere leading student struggles. And everywhere youth are flocking to the YS/LJS, the only alternative to a dying capitalism.

It's revolutionary! That's why we need revolutionary measures to meet the situation. That's why the Central Executive Council is initiating a coordinated cross-country recruitment campaign designed to win hundreds of youth to the YS/LJS, in the next five months. This campaign should mark a big change in our work, directing the whole movement to expansion in light of our growing influence.

Where will the recruits come from? Well...how many people have attended conferences and meetings in your area? How many have participated in the women's liberation movement, the anti-war movement, the Quebec defence movement, high school and campus struggles, under our leadership? How many people read our papers? All these hundreds of people are very immediate potential recruits. Let's make sure they have the opportunity to participate in making history!

How? Well, we're going about it scientifically just like we do everything else. The drive will begin immediately and run until mid-August. The quota? ...that's what you have to tell us (read on). The entire work of the movement must be geared to this drive. If you don't already have one, set up a top-notch committee to run the drive tomorrow. Phone and visit every contact you turned up in the course of the term's work, but somehow never followed up. Try distributing recruitment leaflets on campus and in the high schools. Hold special "Join

the YS/LJS" meetings on campus. The possibilities are infinite!

The drive is being launched on March 25 with just the kind of exciting public actions that our movement should be doing more of—a press conference in the Czech embassy in Ottawa to protest the sentencing of Trotskyists. The drive will go through three phases, outlined below, and culminate in a huge cross-country conference to take place in southern Ontario in mid-August. This conference will be one of the biggest and most exciting projects ever undertaken by our movement. It will probably run for one week, and will have several aspects. As well as being immediately useful to revolutionaries in their work, we want the conference to be popular and appealing beyond our own movement.

Here's how the drive is organized:

PHASE ONE: This part of the drive, beginning immediately, should zero in on the campuses before they shut down. We have to translate the gains of this term into life and blood members, or we haven't done our job. One thing we really have going for us on the campus is the April 24-25 IDP. This leg of the drive will culminate in popular youth-oriented Mayday actions (outlined elsewhere).

PHASE TWO: This part of the drive should be directed to the high schools. Two possibilities for major campaigns are: 1. a fight for birth control devices in the schools, and 2. mobilizing the high schools for April 24-25. Both can really pay off in new members.

PHASE THREE: This will be a summer campaign to recruit the 100,000 plus unemployed youth who will have nothing to do this summer but hate the system.

All executives should meet immediately to plan how the recruitment drive will be carried in their areas. Please fill out and return the questionnaire opposite immediately! It's on the basis of your response that the Central Office will establish a goal for the drive. But bear in mind—in this drive, the sky should be the limit.

Build the mass revolutionary socialist youth movement, recruit to the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes!

Please clip and return to the Central Office

What is the present membership of your local?

How many have joined since the convention?

How many candidates did you run in student elections? For what offices?

How many people voted for your candidates?

How many regularly attend your forums and other activities?

How many have been involved in recent campus or high school protests?

What is the projected level of youth unemployment in your area this summer?

How many do you think you can recruit in this drive? How many in Phase One?

A press conference on Czechoslovak territory is being planned for March 25. The conference will be addressed by leaders of the YS/LJS and is taking place in the Czech embassy in Ottawa. Its purpose is to protest the sentencing of nineteen young people, accused of Trotskyism, in Prague last week.

The defendants, mostly students, have received sentences ranging from one to four years. Thirteen of them had been in prison since the end of 1969 or early 1970.

All the defendants were accused of having participated in the demonstrations of August '69, and of having distributed, among other things, a document entitled "Bureaucracy, No! Socialism, Yes!" In fact their real crime is their opposition to the privileged bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia, and their desire to see a return to the fullest socialist democracy--a sentiment shared by thousands of Czech youth. The YS/LJS will take the occasion to express their solidarity with revolutionary youth in Czechoslovakia, and to liberate a little Czech territory in the spirit of the struggle there.

We'll supply you with everything you need to carry the recruitment drive in your area:

- regular editions of the YS/LJS Recruiter, reporting on the progress of the drive and any neat ideas we've heard.
- a special YS/LJS poster (reproduced in the April YS).
- membership cards for all those new members.
- a brand new YS/LJS button.
- a victory issue of the Young Socialist that makes us look irresistible.
- special recruitment kits with lots of goodies in them.
- lists of subscribers to the YS in your area.

It's all coming soon! But don't sit back and wait; you can start with what you have right now!

Please send us

- YS/LJS recruitment posters.
- YS/LJS buttons.
- YS/LJS membership cards.
- copies of the YS/LJS Recruiter per issue.
- recruitment kits.

Also please increase our bundle of the Young Socialist to
-- copies per issue.

mayday

Mayday is rapidly approaching, and we can make this traditional revolutionary holiday a big milestone for the YS/LJS, as well as a shot in the arm for the recruitment drive. We are projecting revolutionary youth celebrations in major centres across the country. These demonstrations should take up the grievances of youth, the oppression that they feel, and contrast that with the unlimited possibilities for a truly human society under socialism. The demonstrations should also express our solidarity with rebellious youth around the world. We should invite other forces to cooperate with us, but let's not wait around. The YS/LJS will lead students in the streets on Mayday!

Campaign for an NDP government.
Join the struggle for socialism.
Join the Young Socialists.

....I want more information on the
 Young Socialists

....I want to join

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Prov. _____

Clip and mail to the YS local nearest you

BRANDON, Man.: Box 95, Brandon
 University

EDMONTON, Alta.: 10518 Whyte, No. 6,
 423-7358

FREDERICTON, N.B.: Student Union
 Building, University of New Brunswick

GUELPH, Ont.: c/o Tom Baker, Box 19
 Ontario Vet. College, University of Guelph

HALIFAX-DARTMOUTH, N.S.: 2614
 Windsor St., Halifax, N.S.

HAMILTON, Ont.: 182 Locke St. W., 529-
 8979

HULL, Que.: No. 7, 90 Rue Principal

KITCHENER-WATERLOO, Ont.: Box
 921, Kitchener, 576-2293

MONTREAL, Que.: 226 est Ste-Catherine,
 861-3028

ORILLIA, Ont.: Box 835

OTTAWA, Ont.: c/o Cris Schrenk, 33
 Rosemount, Apt. 18, 728-4965

PETERBOROUGH, Ont.: 429 Stewart St.,
 745-9819

REGINA, Sask.: Box 623

RICHMOND HILL, Ont.: Box 281

ST. CATHERINES, Ont.: c/o Student
 Union Office, Brock University

STURGEON FALLS, Ont.: c/o Gaetan
 Gagnon, 64 Nipissing, Box 414

TORONTO, Ont.: Young Socialists, 334
 Queen St. W., 363-9618

York University: c/o Tony DiFelice,
 CYSF, Rm. N108 Ross Bldg., 667-3532

VANCOUVER, B.C.: 1208 Granville, 688-
 5924

VICTORIA, B.C.: 445 Gorge Rd.

WINNIPEG, Man.: No. 728-416 Main St.,
 943-7791

Join the campaign.



Read the socialist press

Young Socialist and Labor Challenge talk about what's happening in the student movement, the NDP, the Quebec independence movement, women's liberation, the antiwar movement, and much more. Special subscription offer: 8 issues of Labor Challenge (4 months) and ten issues of Young Socialist (one year) for \$2.00.

Clip and mail to VANGUARD BOOKSTORE 334 Queen Street West, Toronto. Please fill in both blanks.

..... Enclosed is \$2.00 for one year of Young Socialist and 4 months of Labor Challenge.

Name _____ Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

City _____ City _____

Zone _____ Prov. _____ Zone _____ Prov. _____

NDP to power Oct. 30!

Four years ago Pierre Elliott Trudeau promised us a "Just Society", "a new start for Canada" and the new "participatory democracy."

Since then, he and his government have pushed youth unemployment to the highest level of any industrialized country in the world; masterminded the cutbacks in education; sent the army into Quebec; given over \$5 billion in outright grants to the giant corporations; sat back smugly while big business destroyed our lakes, rivers, and air; while back-ally butcher-abortionists murdered over 2,500 women; while Nixon blew up Amchitka and while Canadian business raked in millions from arm sales to the U.S. war machine.

And when people became concerned Trudeau told unemployed Montreal truck drivers to "eat shit," unemployed Ontario youth to "use your own

With the NDP - towards a new society

initiative to find jobs; women who want legal abortion that they're murderers; farmers with rotting grain — "Why should I sell your wheat;" and questioning anti-war activists to "fuck off." Then he advised Canadian youth to refrain from watching the 11 o'clock news "because it will give you bad dreams."

And after that he wants us to vote for him!

It's no accident that Trudeau has done what he has done; that this country is in such a mess, and that Stanfield and the Conservative Party have essentially the same to offer.

Who will rule Canada?

Canada is owned by a handful of millionaires — the 97 men who control almost every sector of the Canadian economy through their 930 corporate directorships — and run it in the interests of making profits. In order to do this effectively they also own a couple of political parties — namely the Liberals and Conservatives. Both receive their financial backing and political "guidance" from big business. He who pays the piper calls the tune.

In order to bring about positive change, we need a party that acts in our interests. The New Democratic Party is the only one that speaks for the majority — the working class and the other oppressed of society. It doesn't get any support from the E.P. Taylors. In fact, big business hates it. It is financed and supported by working people. It has been built by working people, struggling for a better life.

The corporations...

The NDP is the only alternative to the status quo in this election. The Lewis attack on the "corporate welfare bums" shows whose side the NDP is on. Because it is a party of the working people, the NDP has been deeply effected by the ongoing struggles of students, women, anti-war activists and other people fighting for change. Its program includes free tuition for students, US out of Vietnam and an end to Canada's complicity in the war, repeal of all anti-abortion laws, free community controlled daycare centres.

...or us?

The Liberals and Tories can only block our struggles. The NDP can propel them forward. An NDP victory would inspire and intensify the different movements of the oppressed. A Labor government could win concrete gains for the working people, and open the way for fundamental social change.

This is why we've got to campaign for an NDP government and use the 2.8 million new votes we hold to bring it about.

The NDP has limitations. Its conservative leadership wants to reform this profit system, not end it. The leadership also sees the parliamentary road as the only way for change, and they sometimes even oppose demonstrations, mass meetings strikes, etc.

But you don't get anything ready made. You can either stand on the sidelines and complain that even our party, the NDP, isn't what it should be, or you can join the struggle to make it effective. In order to change the world we must organize to see our needs fulfilled.

That's what the Young Socialists is all about. We are the only active youth movement that supports the NDP. And we're out to organize a movement of thousands of youth who are fighting for a better world, 365 days a year, inside and outside the NDP, and determined to use any means necessary, not just elections.

Members of the Young Socialists can be found on campuses and high schools from Vancouver to Halifax, organizing against the oppression of this society. We're opposed to the war in Vietnam and Canada's complicity in it: we're fighting for women's liberation — for legal abortion, birth control, day care, equal pay for equal work; we're organizing against the cutbacks in education and for student-staff control of the universities and schools. In all, we're working to win the youth of Canada to the struggle for a new society.

We're serious about changing the world. And we know that it will take nothing short of a socialist revolution — a complete restructuring of society — to end the injustice, irrationality and brutality of this system. Because it is building the independent power of the oppressed, the campaign to elect the NDP is part of that process.

The struggle for change takes a lot of effort and a lot of people. But the future of all of us rests upon it. We need your help. If you think we are right in what we're doing you should join us. Join us in campaigning for an NDP government. Join us in fighting for a socialist world.



October 1970. Under the War Measures Act Trudeau sent the army into Quebec and suspended civil liberties. The NDP was the only party to stand up in opposition.

334 Queen St west
Toronto 2b.
February 23rd. 1971.

let's fix this typewriter

Women's Liberation Circular.

To all branches, locals and members at large.

Dear comrades:

After February 13th, we can draw some conclusions about our women's liberation work.

The Political Committee of the LSA/LSO met on February 14. One of the items on the agenda was women's liberation. The conclusion of that discussion was that the February 13th campaign was enormously successful in establishing a strong mass-action tendency in the women's liberation movement. The direction for the movement coming out of the Ottawa strategy session was everything we could have hoped for. Two dates for future actions were established: International Women's Day (March 8th) and Mother's Day (May 8) for another abortion action. Regional conferences were projected and a future national conference. The Velvet Fist was put forward as a co-ordinating centre. This direction was carried strongly by forces outside of ourselves and was unanimously adopted.

The P.C. discussed our comrades future intervention in the movement. During the campaign we saw that in many areas the campaign was hamstrung by deadend, non-mass-action-oriented groups who did not see the possibilities of this action. At the same time we saw that in areas where it was possible to move beyond these groups, whole new layers of enthusiastic and dynamic women were reached and drawn to the movement, demonstrating that a large base for women's liberation exists. We should draw some conclusions from this experience: that large numbers of women are open to women's liberation and can be brought to the movement, and that we should not tie ourselves to groups which do not have the perspective of reaching these women. We want to build an effective, mass women's liberation movement; when necessary, we must be prepared to move out beyond existing groups to do this.

No matter how small - lead

Comrades should immediately send in reports to the centre on how the campaign was built in their area and the role our comrades played. Reports should indicate problems as well as gains, internally as well as externally.

Two conferences are planned featuring Vietnamese women - Toronto, last week of March; Vancouver, first week in April. These are to be jointly sponsored by the Voice of Women (Canada)/women Strike for Peace (U.S.) and some women's liberation forces (in Canada, the Vancouver Women's Caucus and the Toronto women's Liberation Movement). The conference may be divided into two parts - anti-war and women's liberation. Most of the planning has been done in the U.S.; much of the money for the conference is apparently coming from the C.P.. We have been excluded from the planning of the conferences, both in the U.S. and in Canada, although the Vancouver women's Alliance has been given some information. The conferences are to be by invitation only with about 1/4 of the delegates from the U.S.

We are trying to get more information on these conferences. Please send in all the information you have. we will keep you informed and give some direction as soon as possible.

Jacquie Henderson, Cross-country Women's Liberation Coordinator LJS
Lis Angus, Cross-country women's Liberation Coordinator YS/
LSA/LSO.

The General undenoct

(Found in 1971)
(top note by R.D.)

1) OPEN LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Following fourteen months in prison, nineteen students and workers in your country were finally brought to trial last month, charged with being members of the "Revolutionary Socialist Party" and of undermining the collectivist social order by their activities. On March 19, sixteen of the 19 were convicted and sentenced to further imprisonment ranging from one to four years. One defendant was acquitted and the remaining two will be tried at a later date.

The trial of the Prague 19 was staged in a style reminiscent of Stalin's infamous purge trials of the 1930's which your government condemned years ago. Both public and the press were excluded from the hearings. The entire proceeding reveal the sheer hypocrisy of your government's pledge to end the show trials of the Novotny era.

We in Canada who have experienced our own government's attacks on our civil liberties -- we who have witnessed long standing fighters for social justice brought to trial as political prisoners -- are outraged and shocked by these criminal acts of political oppression by your government carried out in the name of socialism.

What were the "crimes" of the accused? Only to fight for socialist democracy in their country, to condemn all acts of suppression of their people's human rights, and to declare their solidarity and ardent support for the militant struggles of oppressed peoples throughout the world. For this reason they have been jailed and silenced.

But already these trials in your country have been brought to the attention of people around the world. An international campaign has been mounted in opposition. As part of this campaign we the undersigned demand:

- 1) Immediate freedom for the Prague 19
- 2) The dropping of all charges against them
- 3) Support for the right of all socialist views to be freely heard.

NAME

ADDRESS

FREE THE PRAGUE 19! SOCIALISM, YES! BUREAUCRACY, NO!

Nineteen Czechoslovakian students and young workers have just been placed behind bars with savage sentences of one to four years!

We who have experienced our government's attack on our civil liberties with the War Measures Act and the Public Order Act--we who now live under a government that brings to trial as political prisoners, public figures who have long fought for social justice--feel the outrage, shock and horror of the Czechoslovakian people at this criminal act of political repression.

And political repression it is! The nineteen are among twenty-five youth held more than a year in prison on charges of belonging to a "Trotskyite" organization. They are specifically charged with belonging to an organization called the "Revolutionary Socialist Party", of distributing various publications, and taking part in anti-government demonstrations in August 1969, and circulating a document entitled "Socialism, Yes! Bureaucracy, No!".

The Czech government's pledge to end the purges and show trials of the Novotny era has been broken. These trials are purge trials! These trials are show trials! They are designed to intimidate the growing movement for socialist democracy.

They are a mockery of justice whose impartiality has been questioned by the defendants themselves. Did these same judges take part in the purge trials of the fifties, they asked? Have they been in contact with the military or the police? Were they members of the Communist Party and therefore obliged to carry out its directives? These questions went unanswered at the time!

What were the real crimes of these fighters for socialist democracy?--only to act in the spirit of the Prague Spring of 1968, that spirit of socialist democracy crushed by the rumble of Soviet tanks on Czech territory, the spirit of socialist democracy supported by the people of Czechoslovakia. Their crimes were to speak out as socialists, as internationalists expressing their solidarity with the world struggle for socialism, and socialist democracy in the finest traditions of the first years of the Russian revolution!

For this they have been thrown into jails! And for this we in the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes express our firm solidarity! While political prisoners sit behind bars or are subjected to trials in Quebec or Czechoslovakia, the civil liberties and political rights of Czech and Canadian youth are in grave danger. We pledge our support in the fight to free them. We appeal to people everywhere to offer their support.

People around the world are demanding:

- 1) Immediate freedom for the Prague 19
- 2) The dropping of all charges against them
- 3) Support for the right of all socialist views to be freely heard.

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes
334 Queen St. W.,
Toronto.

March 25/71

YOUNG SOCIALISTS/LIGUE DES JEUNES SOCIALISTES
Central office 334 Queen St. W Toronto Ont - 363-9618
Ottawa Local 788 Somerset Ottawa - 232-9945

Press release - for immediate release

March 25 1971

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN EMBASSY CALLS COPS ON YOUNG SOCIALISTS

The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes condemned today the actions of the Ottawa police who forcibly removed a Young Socialist delegation from the Czechoslovakian Embassy.

Leading members of the YS/LJS went to the embassy to lodge a protest with the ambassador against the recent imprisonment of 19 Prague youths who have been active in the struggle for socialist democracy in that country. The delegation carried red flags and carried a banner saying "Free the Prague 19 - Socialism Yes - Bureaucracy No."

When the delegation arrived it was met at the door by Mr. Novotny an embassy official, who said the ambassador was elsewhere in Ottawa and couldn't be seen. The YS delegation demanded that in view of the jailings, he should immediately contact the ambassador. When Mr. Novotny refused Jacquie Henderson, a Central Office organizer of the YS/LJS read a statement demanding the freeing of the Prague 19. (enclosed)

As the discussion continued, dozens of uniformed Ottawa cops converged on the embassy and subsequently began to push the delegation down the stairs of the embassy. One member of the YS was attacked by a cop, knocked to the ground, forced into a waiting police car and taken to police headquarters for questioning. Others, pushed, shoved, threatened with arrest and had their clothes ripped.

The YS/LJS condemns the refusal of the Czechoslovakian embassy officials to hear their delegation, and is outraged by the use of the Ottawa cops to avoid answering the questions raised by its delegation. The brutal actions of the Ottawa cops once more reminds Canadians in Quebec and English Canada of the threat to their civil liberties, fostered by the repressive policies of the Trudeau government.

Leading members of the YS/LJS were jailed last October for their opposition to the War Measures Act. The YS/LJS which is now in the forefront of the movement for the defense of Quebec political prisoners is shocked by the actions of the Czechoslovakian officials, and is more determined than ever to fight for the freedom of the Prague 19.

The YS/LJS appeals to students across Canada and all those fighting for civil liberties and socialist democracy to join the world wide campaign to free the Prague 19.

APRIL, 1971.

The following report was presented by the Organizer to the April 7 Branch meeting. As a result, there were several proposals adopted. As well, this report was seen as the initiation of discussion of our Branch work - a discussion which will culminate at a Branch conference in early summer.

Proposals adopted:

1. m/c that there be held a Branch conference in the early summer, the exact date to be announced at the next Branch meeting.
2. m/c that the priorities of work be affirmed, those being anti-war, fund drive, commission (Quebec) work, women's liberation, and that press and educational work be seen as flowing out of these.
3. m/c that there be a meeting of the educational committee and the executive as soon as possible.
4. m/c that there be regular weekly meetings, for the purpose of mailings and other items of work.

ORGANIZER'S REPORT

Our work in the past while, and the continuing perspective for the future can be characterized in terms of heavy external activity. Our record is good.

In terms of Quebec Defense, the LSA and the YS has undoubtedly carried more than any other organization or group of individuals not only in Canada as a whole, but even here in Kitchener. This activity began in October. We've been active in this arena for almost six months. Not only have we participated and initiated mass meetings in K-W, but we are now carrying on a project of fantastic scope, involving a vast number of people across the country - the Commission of Inquiry. It is a project which may well have greater impact than the Chartrand tour, which has up to now, been the movement's most successful cross-country action.

This project makes a lot of demands on us and on the movement as a whole, but its initial success in terms of eliciting a wave of enthusiasm should make us want to throw everything we have into it, for it promises to start a whole new round in Quebec defense work and in the politicizing of new layers of people. This is not merely a report on defense work, however.

We have also to our credit, an impressive record of work in the area of women's liberation. Two of our comrades have become the recognized spokeswomen of the movement in the area. There are no opposing groups. We have gone on dozens of speaking assignments and have averaged a column or a spot in the news media at least once every other week. We have organized the first women's liberation protest at U. of W. - something which has resulted in some healthy political shocks at that institution. In fact, it was due to our initiative that there is a women's movement in this area at all.

The Branch comrades on campus have registered a profound effect on the politics of the campuses. The election campaign was successful and resulted in a number of new contacts - even one comrades. The firing issue at Lutheran would have died rapidly and ingloriously had we not made a most marked intervention. The YS is selling better than ever.

The coming period promises a flurry of more external activity. The plans for the local anti-war demonstration and the bus trip for Toronto are well underway. This Friday we are having a forum, significantly in a labour hall. And, we are planning for an intensive weekend of education - culminating in a protest of women's liberationists and their supporters on Mother's Day - May 9.

Internally, things also seem to be going well. Our financial debt is almost gone. Labour Challenge sales are becoming a little more regular and we are holding weekly Quebec fraction meetings.

Naturally, all is not rosy. We would be somewhat naive to overlook our shortcomings. I believe we can deduce or infer some of these shortcomings by examining some of our successes. Whenever we have scored a significant breakthrough, whenever morale in general is high, whenever our routine work runs smoothly, it is always due to a smooth-working collective effort in conjunction with effective coordination of the fractions and areas of work. Whenever morale is low, or our work is slumping in a certain area, it is due to a lack of these two interrelated factors.

It should be no secret, that when we took upon ourselves the educational programme in the early fall, that we did not follow through on it. Let's discuss it.

It should be obvious that our paper sales - while improving - are still lagging and somewhat spiritless. I do not think that the fault lies with the co-ordinator alone in this case; I believe it lies also with the organizer and with the rest of the comrades. We have unfortunately relied too much upon our "individual" techniques of selling, and paying too little attention to going out as a team!

There is another weakness we have - contact work. Comrades may be surprised to hear that we only have an official list of about 12 Branch contacts. This would seem to suggest that we have been operating too much like an internal discussion group in the past. Comrades may also be surprised to learn that we have never gotten together an office crew to do weekly mailings of notices, financial pleas, petitions, etc. Never once have we done this on a week-to-week basis. Most of this work has always been done by one or two people in a last-minute haphazard fashion. We cannot hope to consolidate what contact we have and those we don't yet have - if we don't see that there are political consequences to these organizational questions. We cannot inspire ourselves or our contacts when our work consists of a series of panic reflexes. Concretely, we loose out in our political work if we can't get people to meetings, if we can't get funds and if we can't get across our ideas with the press. That's why a minimum of "office" time must be devoted each week by comrades.

In many ways, what we have done so far since the establishment of the Branch is almost phenomenal and that reflects commitment we have to our work. However, we fall somewhat short of our potential.

I do not think we can pull back from our major areas of work and hope to improve the overall effectiveness of our operation. By pulling back, we only carry on the way we have been doing on a somewhat smaller scale. But even on a smaller scale, the mechanics of our operation will continue to be the same. What we need is to co-ordinate our activities with some premeditation; this means - perhaps to the perplexity of some of us - getting together the committees

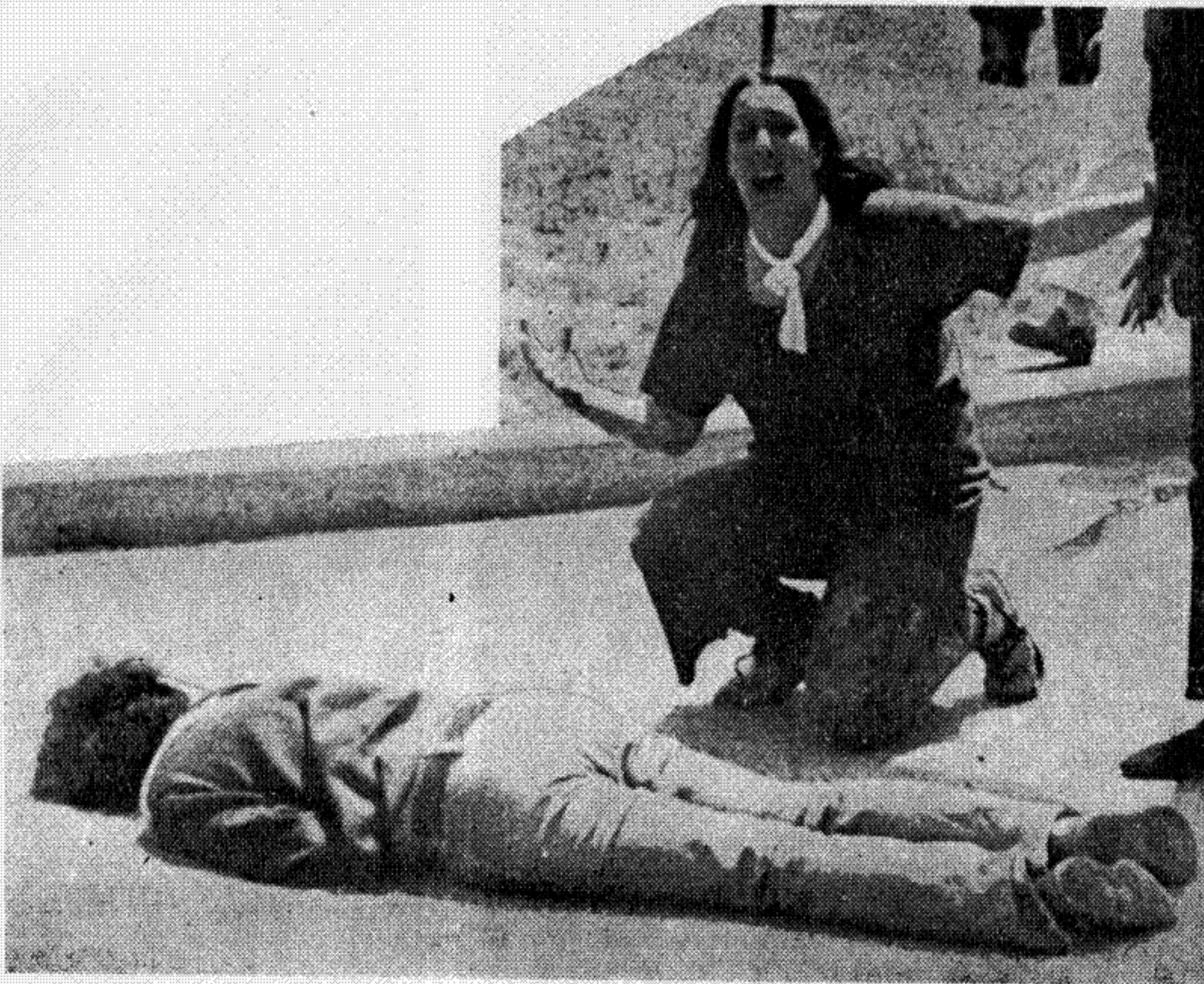
and fractions in deed, not only in word. It means also, more liason between co-ordinators and organizer and avoiding the temptation to let things take care of themselves.

This, briefly, is the negative side. It doesn't overshadow the whole operation, however. I think we are continually growing and making an impact in this area. We should make certain that with the improvements that are sure to come, that we channel our main efforts into the priority areas of work. All of these activities will foster more growth of our movement and advance the cause of the Canadian revolution.

PROTEST: CAMBODIAN INVASION FOUR MURDERS IN OHIO

Sat. 5pm. May 9 City Hall

(March on U.S. Consulate)



ALLISON KRAUSE
Put flower in rifle barrel



SANDY LEE SCHEUER
Parents cancel anniversary

8,000 US troops have invaded Cambodia. US planes have bombed North Vietnam again. The National Guard has invaded many American campuses, murdering four anti-war students, Jeffrey Miller, Allison Krause, Sandy Lee Scheuer and William Schroeder in Kent, Ohio on May 4. Throughout the states hundreds of thousands are demonstrating their opposition to this terrible escalation in the largest mass actions to date. True to form, External Affairs Minister Sharp has justified the US action by claiming there are "North Vietnamese invaders" in Cambodia. Our response must be immediate mass action.

END CANADA'S COMPLICITY

SOLIDARITY WITH THE U.S. ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS FROM S.E. ASIA NOW



JEFFREY MILLER
"Quite a musician"

Fund in 1971 - no May 8

Control of Our Bodies!

Control of Our Lives!

If you are tired of the mystery, confusion, ignorance and plain old hypocrisy that surrounds the issue of Birth Control, join the STUDENT BIRTH CONTROL RIGHTS COMMITTEE.

The present Family Life course presupposes that all students intend to marry and that sex takes place only within the confines of marriage. That is hardly the reality which we all live everyday! Rather than showing us how to take responsibility for our lives and cope with the reality of living, these courses are used to preach to us the ways which a small group thinks we should live. WE WANT FACTS NOT MORALS!

If we are to control our bodies we must be given the means to be responsible. This service should be provided by travelling Birth Control Clinics which would supply information on Abortion, birth control, venereal disease and would distribute birth control devices to all students on demand.

The Student Birth Control Rights Committee will be distributing Birth Control Handbooks and petitions in all Metro Highschools. We intend to present these petitions to the Boards of Education on the target dates mentioned on the front of this leaflet.

On May 8th we will take our demands to City Hall in a demonstration demanding 'Control of our Bodies - Control of our lives!

We need your help! Join us at the Boards of Education and on May 8th at City Hall - circulate petitions in your school. For information and petitions call Dawn Adams at 259-3159 or drop in to our meetings at 7:30 on April 5th, 19th and May 3rd at 188 Adelaide Street West (at University) clip and mail to 188 Adelaide St. W.

- ☐ Please send me more information
- ☐ Enclosed is \$ to help build the campaign
- ☐ Please send me petitions and leaflets

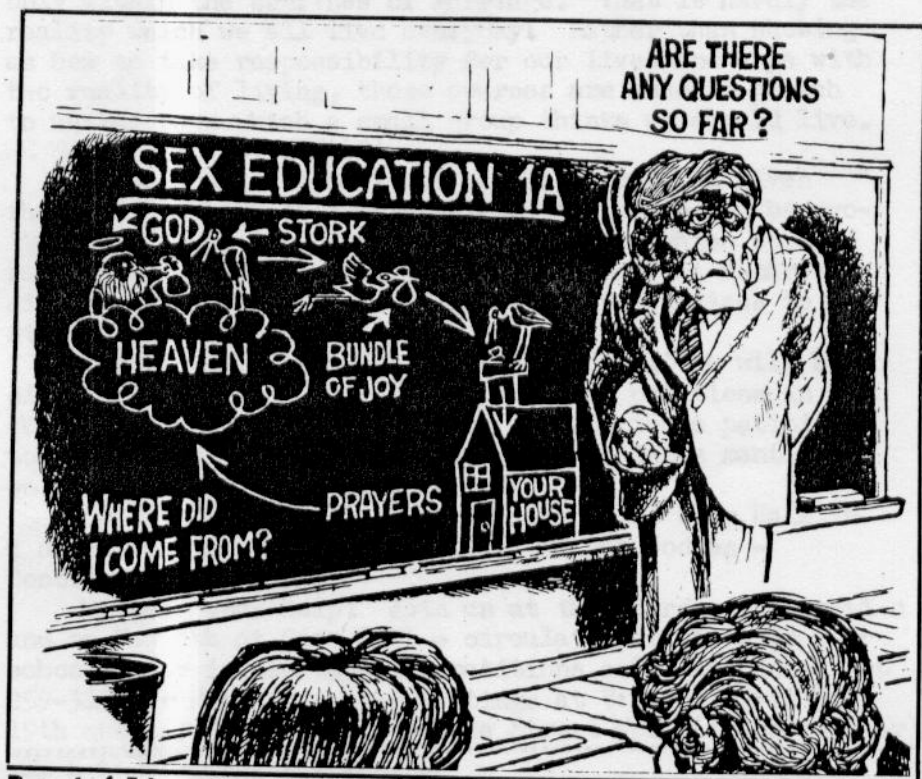
Name

Address

City.....Zone.....Prov.....

Student Birth Control Rights Ctte.

Campaign for Birth Control in the High Schools



Board of Education target dates:

| | |
|---------------|------------|
| * York | - April 19 |
| * North York | - April 26 |
| * Scarborough | - April 26 |
| * Etobicoke | - April 28 |
| * Toronto | - April 29 |

City-Wide Festival & Protest May 8

MEET QUEEN'S PARK (North-end) 1:00 p.m.

May 12, 1971

To all locals and members-at-large;

Dear comrades:

At present only 6 locals and members-at-large have replied to the request last February for reports on their educational work and the questionnaires. It is important that we have these in by the end of next week, in order to have a comprehensive evaluation of our educational work for the past period at the plenum.

Comradely,

Zane Boyd,
cross-country educational
co-ordinator

P.S. If you have found the questionnaires too cumbersome, don't bother with them for now. But try to send in some sort of report, even if it's only general or approximate -- problems, experiences, suggestions, whatever.

1971

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

by Al Cappe and Joe Young
submitted for discussion
by the CEC.

Objective Conditions

Every day the crisis of world capitalism deepens. The conflict in the Third World led by the Indochinese people, the interimperialist rivalry and the growing unrest in the advanced capitalist countries pose growing challenges to the capitalist system. The crisis of imperialism, the bomb, Vietnam, pollution, unemployment, oppression of national groups, women, youth, homosexuals - these factors are the underlying causes of the youth revolt against capitalism. The conflicts are extremely intense. Capitalist economies are in or are entering a period of recession. The determination of American imperialism in Vietnam despite splinters in the U.S. ruling class, points to the iron hand which the imperialists require to stem the rising tide of Third World revolution and compete with other imperialist powers.

One important factor in this whole picture is the state of the Canadian economy. After the boom period of the mid-sixties and the escalation of profits due to the Vietnam war, the Canadian economy is in a period of recession exacerbated by its branch plant position. The Senate has stated in its hearings that this recession will last for three years - three years of unemployment and inflation.

After the expansion of the economy and the whole university explosion which produced the skilled labour necessary for this expansion, the bourgeoisie is rationalizing its financial problems onto the public sector. Governments are cutting back on educational spending on all levels. The university explosion is slowing down, grants to graduates and to university expansion are being cut back, student grants are being lowered and tuition is rising. On the public and secondary level we have seen in Ontario, the cutbacks are having a profound effect on the quality of education - higher pupil-teacher ratio, higher cafeteria prices, slowdowns in resources, renovation and library expansion. This situation led in Toronto to widescale walk-outs among secondary school students.

The bourgeoisie is attempting to make students and workers pay for this rotten system. In the context of the recession they don't need to turn out skilled labor at the same rate so why should they continue to put the same amount of money into the schools. They are streamlining the system, cutting any frills. Cutting it down to their needs.

In doing this they are destroying many of the expectations of youth who have been taught to believe that by going to school they could find a meaningful life and success as it is defined by this society. Now all these expectations are crashing against the reality of 11.5% unemployment of those under 25, large scale cutbacks, increasing costs of education -- a bleak future indeed.

This situation arises in a time of deep and ongoing radicalization - of a growing awareness of oppression, of a real desire for self-determination. For some students this crisis only confirms what they already knew - that the whole thing stinks and has to be smashed;

2.
for others it shatters whatever illusions they may have had concerning this society. These setbacks are likely to be prolonged. Combine this with the bleak future for the human race due to wars, pollution and poverty, one sees the causes of this radicalization which is challenging the whole basis of this society.

Stage and Features of the Radicalization

The radicalization is widespread and deepening. While in the past period, until January that is, there have been no outstanding struggles except in Quebec this does not mean that the radicalization had not been developing it just means that it has not broken into the open. The radicalization expresses itself through a profound rejection of all the values of the system, a generalized feeling of oppression and a real desire for self-determination. Many issues and movements coalesce into the youth radicalization and form a part of it - sexual repression, the nuclear family which binds most high school and many college students to a narrow repressive unit, national oppression and the defence of Quebec political prisoners, student rights, anti-authoritarianism, gay liberation, unemployment, the crisis of education, pollution, Americanization, the war in Indochina, self-determination struggles around the world - all these are part of the radicalization.

We have seen the total irreverence of high school students, their willingness to reject all the normal channels of this society when their lives or well-being is threatened. We have seen their willingness to hear alternatives, their openness to new ideas. All the basic concepts of this society are being challenged. There is no town in this country where you cannot find radicalizing youth who are open to socialist ideas as evidenced by the Southern Ontario locals. The radicalization is not centered on the Vietnam issue the way it was not so long ago, rather there are now a whole range of questions, a wholesale rejection, and a search for alternatives. This search leads increasingly toward socialism.

There has been a brief lull in the student struggles since 1968. It was not until January of this year that significant university struggles broke out again. This was a period of examining past experiences and attempting to evaluate where we go from here. There were two major reasons for this lull. 1. The failure of the new left leadership to develop any kind of program or strategy for student struggles. 2. The skillful co-optation schemes of the university administrations.

The New Left failed abysmally. They were easily isolated and discredited by the university administrations. While at their peak the new left was able to influence thousands, they did not really lead them anywhere and in many cases turned many students off politics by their antics. Towards the end they captured the leadership of the Canadian Union of Students and it was under their leadership that it died. There is no doubt that they were more radical than the students they were trying to lead but despite this problem they could have built continuing movement with victories to its credit - instead they built nothing and their organized groups have completely disappeared. Throughout the whole period the YS continued to grow and sink roots in the campuses and high schools.

The university met the demands for student power by co-opting the student leaderships onto various committees up to and including

the Board of Governors, in one or two cases and it initiated various long term studies of the problems. Students as a whole thought that this would result in some meaningful change but it has not, of course, and so there is a growing rejection of participatory schemes. Students want action not committees. The administrations also initiated various reforms in liberal arts courses. But with the growth of the radicalization and worsening objective conditions, the administrations now have less maneuverability and flexibility.

We have not seen the end of this reformist tendency among students as witnessed by some of the leadership of the present struggles. But the issues of control and student power are more and more pushing themselves to the fore.

No other tendency has benefited from the radicalization as we have. The new left has left the campuses, in so far as it exists, in search of the street people. The UCL has no appeal and it has been unable to influence the course of the struggles. CPL, an Ontario phenomenon, while attracting some newly radicalizing youth through its workerism and formalism is really hamstrung by its lack of a student orientation and opposition to all sectors of the radicalization. The Waffle, which we identify with, has not attempted to build an ongoing movement on the campuses to this date.

The radicalization in the high schools is characterized by a real deepset frustration with this system and an openness to alternatives. As well, reaction to political and sexual repression has given high school an explosive character in face of an increasingly obdurate administration. While we have seen numerous outbreaks and campaigns within the high schools we have yet to see the development (although appearing in Toronto) of a real movement from which political experience can be gained and leaders arise.

While the radicalization is very widespread it is of course very uneven and not on a very high level. Its breadth and openness is the important thing. In the struggles at the beginning of this year in many cases close to a majority of the students became involved and for many it was the first struggle. It is small wonder that they were on a low level. The important thing was that they were beginning to move. The issues around which the struggles occurred were fundamental ones of control - from which lessons and experience can be drawn quickly.

The Rebirth of Student Struggles

Since the beginning of 1971 there has been a plethora of campus struggles which have broken out, as well there have been a number of important high school actions. University of Victoria, Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, Lakehead, Waterloo-Lutheran, Toronto, St. Francis Xavier are only the most important. We have seen student strikes where the majority of the campus was involved, mass meetings of thousands, a whole campus closed down in the face of student unrest. Many of these struggles have been around the issue of control, most notably the firing of radical professors, but as well the right of women to be in men's dormitories, Americanization and course content have been raised. These struggles reflected the fundamental desire for self-determination. The concept that the university should deal with the problems facing students rather than perpetuating them has been raised in an embryonic form. This lays the basis for a growing receptivity to and application

in practice of our red university strategy.

These struggles have been the broadest ever. They have generally not ended in co-optation - neither have they ended in victory. Many have reached an impasse and died down while the grievances have remained and the desire to pick up the issue again expressed. They have shown a tremendous resiliency - an ability to stretch over long periods of time and remain viable, still involving large numbers of students. There have been no serious defeats due to capitulation or repression. The struggles have cut across the traditional divisions - between artsies and engineers, between students and faculty who are increasingly realizing the limitations of their own situations in the university. This goes particularly for the non-tenured faculty who can be fired at any time for their ideas or as part of an economization move.

The administrations have basically played a waiting game. They have counted on the struggles dying out of their own accord. Various deals have not tended to work as students are more and more expressing that they don't want any more committees -- they want demands. Yet, the reformist leaderships have been unable to lead the struggles to successful conclusions.

Important highschool struggles have occurred -- particularly in solidarity with the teachers and now in opposition to the cutbacks which various provincial governments are making in education. At this time in Toronto we are in the midst of a very important experience -- we have much to learn from this about the high school movement. Whole schools are prepared to walk-out with little or no preparation. The schools have no holding power and this combined with the profound alienation and frustration high school students are incredibly militant in the face of any attack on their education.

Our high school comrades have played a leading role in initiating these walk-outs. We have seen at least 30 spontaneous walkouts in Toronto and have had some success in coordinating cross city walkouts. And we have seen in Detroit the success in organizing against cutbacks. Students and parents can easily be united around this issue. Students in Newfoundland and in other parts of Ontario have demonstrated in support of teachers. The ruling class has seen that they no longer need to turn to as much skilled labour and that they haven't got the places for them anyway so they are cutting out all the frills and rationalizing the system.

PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP

It is important to analyse why the student struggles which have occurred have not won any victories to date. Why have they died down only to arise again? What does it mean to win short of making the revolution? How can student struggles win, since the bourgeoisie can never grant student staff-control, although it can be won for brief periods where students and staff are highly mobilized? What do we expect from struggles -- what is a defeat, a victory, a setback? We are the only ones who know the answers to these questions.

For the vast majority of students these struggles are the first

ones they have ever been involved in. There is no real experience except among a small minority of how to conduct a struggle, of how to formulate demands, win over the majority, put the administration up against the wall. It is not surprising that these large scale upsurges have not won right off the bat when one considers the inexperience of those who are involved. The student upsurges have been probes from which important experiences have been gained for further confrontations.

At the same time the problem of leadership has been the main problem. In all too many cases it has been the student council types, who have a reformist orientation who have established themselves as the leadership because they already have recognized positions in the eyes of the students. They have of course no concept of mass confrontation with the administration and the formulation of principled transitional demands. They have not been able to sell out the struggles but at the same time there has been no counter leadership as yet capable of taking hold of the situation and bypassing the student council types. But there is a new leadership developing -- the XS.

We won't automatically become the leadership of the student movement because we have the correct program and strategy. There are a few other things which are necessary. We have to be part of the student movement, we have to be part of the development of the struggle, we cannot be commentators or our correct program will become sterile and abstracted from life. We have to know, how to apply our program -- what are the correct demands in any given situation, what is the level that the students are on. We can't throw up our hands because the students are on too low a political level. We have to be able to address ourselves to students at the level they are at, and at the same time lead them forward in struggle to a greater understanding of their situation and confidence in their ability to struggle. It is sterile for us to blame the low level of the masses when we are not able to take the leadership. The political level may limit how far one can go at this time but not one's ability to lead per se, or to win important limited victories. Political consciousness is also a dynamic thing which can develop very rapidly particularly in a well led struggle.

We cannot of course just arrive and declare ourselves to be the leadership on the basis of our program and our record. We have to gain students' respect and confidence -- we have to cut across the definite though disappearing distrust of politicals which is a legacy of the New Left. We have to develop cadre who are student leaders on their own campuses. In short we have to expand and deepen our campus base. It is through the experience of struggles that students will judge us and accept our leadership. Already in a number of struggles we have shown our mettle -- we are the leaders of the women's liberation, anti-war and Quebec defence movements. We are beginning to elect comrades to student council positions. We are building the basis upon which we can assume the leadership of student struggles -- already particularly at the University of Saskatchewan and in the Toronto high school walkouts, we have played important leadership roles.

We are now faced with the challenge of leading ongoing mass struggles on a day-to-day basis. No longer will we be commentators, injecting the correct orientation -- we will have the responsibility of leading thousands of students, giving them direction about what to do on the level of hours and days. This is a great challenge which is not easy to

meet -- as the debate in the Saskatoon local on the tactics for the Richards case showed. We misjudged the situation in projecting May 3rd high school walkouts in North York. No walkouts occurred, showing we were out of touch. We are posed with no great difficulties from other tendencies who have essentially abandoned the student movement in their orientation. The opponent leadership is much more likely to come from the reformist student council types.

We have to work out in practice how student struggles can win their demands and lead students forward in their understanding of capitalism. 1. The demands must be clear, few in number, easy to understand, and directed clearly against the power in question. 2. The orientation must be mass -- there must be regular mass meetings where all decisions are made, the steering committee must be elected by a mass meeting and accountable to the mass meeting. 3. The orientation must be towards expanding every struggle to other campuses, to other sectors of the campus, and into the working class and other oppressed groups. 4. Where possible, an attempt should be made to start putting the red university strategy into action -- opening facilities for the student movement and other groups to use. Start using the university the way it should be used! These are the guidelines for successful campus struggles.

We are becoming the leadership because of our socialist perspective. We have the tools in our program and the experience to lead. Our socialist perspective gives us the picture of what is necessary for students if they are to win their struggles.

One very important thing in which we can develop ourselves as the leadership of the student struggles is through using our elected student council officers as a caucus of the student movement: attempting to establish cross-country coordination of actions, issuing common statements and establishing regular communications. In this way we can begin to fill the gap which was left by the death of CUS. Increasingly the YS is becoming the cross-country student press -- it is the only paper which carries news about what is happening from coast to coast. It is a good tool to help students generalize from their experiences, as well as giving them inspiration and example from other struggles. We should promote the YS as the coast-to-coast revolutionary student paper.

Already our comrades in Vancouver have taken the lead in operating as the student leadership -- a statement was issued endorsing the anti-war action and urging other councils to do so. At SFU we carried out a referendum, taking the issue to the students, mobilizing them against the council's position.

Our role in the High Schools is becoming increasingly important as we are seeing the beginnings of a real movement within them. The spontaneous surges have been ineffective as we are the only ones capable of organizing, coordinating and leading. There are great opportunities for us in the high schools and for developing our H.S. cadre. The high school milieu is a very open milieu and given the isolation of h.s. students are willing to accept those who are willing to help them organize. We must evaluate these recent experiences to deepen our program and strategy for the high schools.

THE Y.S. AND THE OPPORTUNITIES.....endless opportunities.....

There is a qualitative change in the possibilities for our movement in terms of the opposition we face, the relevance of our ideas, the growing radicalization.

The student movement is moving into action. There is a tremendous receptivity to socialist ideas, as we analyzed at our convention. In our elections campaign we are coming across as the only people who have anything relevant to say about the world. We are the only organized tendency that is active in all aspects of student struggle. We have the program and we have the experience in all the major movements to become the new leadership of student struggles - to recruit hundreds to students to revolutionary socialism. Since January we have formed 8 new locals, our membership has increased well over 25%, our circulation is now almost 7,000, and we have held 3 successful educational conferences.

Our ideas are becoming more and more relevant---we have the general alternative to this screwed-up society, and we have the red university strategy which is relating to what students are thinking.

with

We have to get in step the opportunities before us. We have not adjusted to these possibilities-not developed the right psychology. We have to think of ourselves as the leadership. We have to think of ourselves as the only people with the rational alternative to this society and that people are just waiting for us. They want to hear our ideas and are receptive. We are not some fringe group, we are the potential leaders of the youth of Canada. We are having a profound impact on political consciousness as a whole. The defence work carried out by us and the League was the major reason for the lapsing of the Public Order Act.

This is what our recruitment campaign is all about. We know there are people dying to join us; we have to attract them. We have to go out and recruit them. We have to build up our base for the struggles ahead. All our campaigns to build the YSLJS this summer should be directed toward the Waterloo Education Conference. It is the most important event for youth this summer.

We have to become of the campus. Our movement has to live on the campus. We are an integral part on only a very few. On the rest we do not exist or have very few members. We intervene by selling, setting up lit tables, etc but we do not function as a movement on the campus. This must change drastically if we are to clue into the possibilities we have. Where possible locals should meet on campus.

Offices on campus are indispensable and we should fight for them tooth and nail.

An important aspect of taking advantage of the opportunities before us is financial seriousness. Money is essential to our taking advantage of the political opportunities before us. Yet with the YS becoming more respected and popular we have not transferred this into the hard cash which is necessary to extend our influence even further. In particular we have to go after student council budgets starting now. We can get thousands of dollars this way and finance a tremendous expansion of our full-timers, our press, and our publications program.

After May 1970, the American comrades analysed one of their weaknesses as lacking a campus base. We have not reached our "May" or "October", but it is barrelling down upon us. Our task is to build our campus base like hell in preparation for the great challenges of leadership which are going to be thrust upon us.

We can start this immediately by relating to any motion this summer about youth in the streets, summer jobs, or the cutbacks. We should look into the possibilities and the problems of transient youth in the summer presented us.

-- May 12/71.

471

PRESS REPORT FOR THE EDITORIAL BOARD
by Ian Angus.

Judging by the correspondence which the editorial board has received from across the country, the ES/LJS has noticed and approved of the changes which have been made in Young Socialist since January. Sales have soared, particularly street and campus sales, and record numbers of individual subscriptions have been sent in by people who have bought single copies. This report is designed to summarize the changes which have taken place in the paper and which will continue to take place. It also attempts to outline the main tasks of the movement with regard to the paper.

Since a revolutionary socialist youth paper was first launched in this country almost ten years ago, we have attempted to establish in practice what we knew to be necessary in theory: a genuine youth paper quite distinct in character and content from either a theoretical journal or from the press of the League. This necessity flows from the unique character of the youth radicalization, which differs both in degree and in kind from the radicalization of the working class as a whole. As Lenin said, each generation must find its own path to revolutionary socialism. It is the task of revolutionaries, particularly young revolutionaries, to identify and merge with the most progressive currents in their generation and to lead them to Marxism.

Our most valuable tool in this work is the press. To summarize briefly the points made about the role of the press in many resolutions: the press is the coherent and collective effort of our most experienced cadre; it can reach more people, more effectively and more thoroughly, than any individual; because it is a collective effort it can present more of our program than any individual could master or any discussion can carry; and it has an impact which lasts beyond a brief conversation. Selling the revolutionary press is the prime duty of revolutionists - through the press the movement is built.

We have not been uniformly successful in producing a paper which meets the needs of our generation of radicalizing youth. However, we have been consistently more successful than any other left group in Canada. Of the major left currents, only the Communist party today publishes a youth paper, and it is so sterile a tabloid that they have to give it away.

In the past four months, in the opinion of the editorial board, Young Socialist has more and more become the paper the movement needs in order to take advantage of our present position as the dominant revolutionary youth organization. The shift in direction became clear with the "Let them eat shit" issue which sold tremendously, completely eliminating the press run within two weeks.

This success flowed from the direct identification of the paper with the youth radicalization. This radicalization is iconoclastic, sarcastic, angry, active, and even savage. It has a side to it which rejects everything this society stands for to some degree, proudly identifying with the "we are the people our parents warned us about" concept. It also has a questing, inquiring side, a demand for knowledge and information, for the tools which can make changing the world possible. And it has a revolutionary, rebel, redflag side to it.

What it does not have is a pedantic side. The emotional level of the radicalization - and radicalization occurs primarily on that level - says "Fuck Capitalism!" It rejects everything and demands a new order of things.

We have a twofold responsibility. We have to identify with that emotional gut response to the most disgusting society of all time. We have to identify with all of its aspects - cultural, sexual, literary, everything. And we have to give that response direction and content. We have to consistently draw the links between youth's oppression and the social order.

This is one aspect of what Young Socialist has been trying to do. In addition, the paper has to express the joy of liberation. The joy of fighting back. The joy of insulting and denigrating everything this society holds sacred. That was a big part of the success of the March cover. We presented Trudeau, the Prime Minister, as Marie Antionette, looking stupid and saying something stupid, and pointed out where that kind of thing leads.

Young Socialist has as one of its major tasks the winning of young people not only to revolutionary ideas, but also to revolutionary organization. That does not mean repeating the phrase "therefore it is necessary to build a revolutionary organization which....." at the end of every article. That is pedanticism. We have to present the movement. Our audience says "Don't tell us. Show us." "You say you're all these things? Prove it!" That was the motivation behind the introduction of the Storm Warning pages. We want those pages, and the rest of the paper to be filled with the movement, with the great revolutionary things we are doing, with our wonderful personalities.

We want to go over and over and over the basics. Violence. Democracy. Population explosion. Sexual Oppression. Quebec. Human nature. Religion. Every question you ever got asked by a contact has to be answered in Young Socialist. Because Young Socialist has to be a recruiter. Young Socialist has to say to its readers "Look, here is this fantastic movement which is against what you're against and which knows what to do about it, and what's more, they're doing it all over the place and you should do it too!"

And Young Socialist has to be a little bit wacky. That's what the Yippies have going for them. They don't have any politics, but they have a great ability to make the system look stupid. We have to be able to do that.

Okay, so what do we have to do to make all this happen in the paper?

First of all, the paper has to be the product of our movement. After all, there isn't a sharp line which says revolutionaries to the left, all other radicalizing youth to the right. Our movement has in it the writers, poets, artists and such who can express the radicalization they feel. We don't get the spirit and material we want anywhere else. The paper has to be the product of the movement in three ways. First, the editors have to be in constant contact with the movement, both in their own local, and through regular reports from all areas on responses to the paper. This latter process has not been occurring. Every local

has to evaluate each issue of the paper and ensure that comments and ideas are fired off to the ed. board right away. Secondly, the paper has to be the product of the movement in that it is written by the activists who are involved in the struggle. No more high school articles written by post-graduate students. We have comrades who know about music, art, psychology and so on - they should be writing. We want to develop experts in all areas. We want to do original research. The editors have to make it their business to ferret out articles wherever they may be, and to create new writers. Thirdly, the paper has to be the product of the whole movement, not just Toronto. Articles have to be sent in from across the country. We would like to have a news article in every single issue from every single local. They don't have to be major treatises -- just brief items on activity. Don't send us an interanl report with a note attached which says, "Here's the information, write the article!" And not just news. We want features - history, muckraking, ideas, culture. We may not use it right away, and we may send it back with proposals for changes, but it will never see print if it isn't written and sent in.

Next, we have to sell the paper. ES is designed now more as a street paper than ever before. Our direct competitors are not Mass Line or Young Worker. They are Georgia Straight, Guerilla, or whatever your local equivalent is. We are the only cross-country street paper. So we have to get on the streets and sell it.

Thirdly, we have to pay the bills. If the present level of payment for bundles keeps up, we won't have any paper at all. We want the spontaneity of a youth movement - but we know that spontaneity is powerless if it isn't organized. Those payments have to start coming in right away.

Okay, that's where the paper is going. The movement has to go with it.

May 12, 1971.

"criticism"
RD's criticism
of Waterloo

June 24/71 P
Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes
Socialistes
League for Socialist Action/Ligue
Socialiste Ouvriere
334 Queen St. W., Toronto.

TO ALL BRANCHES LOCALS AND MEMBERS-AT-LARGE:

Dear comrades,

At a recent joint meeting, the Political Committee of the LSA/LSO and the Central Executive Council of the YS/LJS discussed the Waterloo Conference, what its purpose is, and how the movement should build for it.

The main purpose of this conference is to educate our movement in the dynamics of the Canadian revolution, the application of basic Marxist theory to our own revolutionary struggle. It is an important opportunity to pull the movement together and prepare it for the fall offensive on campus and in the high schools, where the challenge is before the YS/LJS to lead the growing student movement.

It is also an opportunity for the movement to consolidate itself after a period of rapid growth, and to do even more recruitment, both at the conference and building for it. The conference will fulfill some of the functions of a convention for the movement. It will be accompanied by plenums of the Central Committee and Executive Council. In short it will be an important gathering of the whole movement, urgently needed, and all branches and locals must mobilize for it.

How can you have more student comrades
What does the date program, speakers etc

When we first planned the conference we projected bringing substantial numbers of radicalizing students from all over Canada. Although this basic orientation of the conference to the most radical sector of the population remains correct, the scope of the conference is necessarily limited by its cost. The registration fee for the conference will be \$25.00 per participant. This will cover both accommodation and food for the five days at the student co-op. This is a very reasonable cost for a five day conference but is still very high for youth travelling across the country and for unemployed high school students. Although we will be prepared to subsidize some people who cannot afford the \$25.00, it is obvious that we cannot do this on a massive scale. Taking this into account it now looks as though the attendance at the conference will be about 300 350. That means a substantial mobilization of the movement plus another 100 or so people outside the movement who are willing to pay the \$25.00.

A couple of serious measures are necessary in order to carry the finances of this conference. One is an assessment on all members of the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS. The assessment will be \$5 for working comrades and \$3 for student comrades and unemployed. It is very important that locals and branches organize the collection of this assessment immediately so that money is available for prepayment of facilities, etc.

The second important financial task facing the movement is carrying out the fund drive launched by the Waterloo Organizing Com-

...2 x *who on what basis*

mittee. This drive, launched two weeks ago, has a quota of \$5,875. If we reach this quota--and we must--we will be able to cover all the operating costs of the conference, and have a fund to subsidize people who cannot afford the \$40. It is very important that we go outside the movement for this money, particularly to student councils where we can get substantial amounts of money all at once. Already three councils--McMaster, Waterloo-Lutheran and Dalhousie--have donated a total of \$580.00. So the money is there; we just have to go after it.

*Confusion here
Confusion here
Contradictory aspect*

The conference is the first big cross-country gathering of students since the congresses of the Canadian Union of Students. We shouldn't hesitate to point this out when we're going after money. It is also in many ways an attractive anti-government action, with angry young people and women from all across Canada coming together to discuss how to change this society. That's what's going to attract people to the conference, and it can help us raise money too.

The conference, and the summer schools and classes leading up to it, have to meet the educational needs of the movement. The Waterloo Education Committee (formerly the research committee) under the direction of Brenda Dineen, will be working out a more balanced program of research topics geared to the educational needs of the movement in this period. In addition it will be suggesting topics for summer classes--on basic Marxist theory--and providing class outlines. This should enable us to really orient the educational work to the conference, and prepare the comrades for it. A circular will be out on this shortly.

The Waterloo conference becomes more important to the development of the movement every day. That's why we have to begin to approach its organization more soberly and carefully than we have done so far. There are two big challenges facing us: mobilizing the movement to attend the conference, and doing the necessary educational work in preparation; and raising the \$5,000 to pay for it.

Comradely,

Kate Alderdice,
Conference coordinator

*Came to conclusion few people
LSA / 45 affair subsidizing*

August 1971

Organizing the YS/LJS

\$1.00



CAN. OF NORAD
NATO ICC

YOUNG
SOCIALISTS

REPEAL
THE WAR
MEASURES

NO
PHONY
CANADIAN
PEACE-KEEPING
TROOPS
TO
VIETNAM

Contents

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Introduction | 4 |
| Further Reading | 11 |
| Constitution Introduction | 11 |
| YS/LJS Constitution | 11 |
| Quebec National Council | 14 |
| YS/LJS - LSA/LSO Relations | 15 |
| Organizing a Local | 17 |
| Finances | 25 |
| Appendix I: Minutes | 29 |
| Appendix II: Literature Sales | 30 |
| Appendix III: Introductory Classes | 33 |
| Appendix IV: Addresses | 35 |
| Appendix V: Essential Reading List | 35 |

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Introduction

The YS/LJS is an organization that strives to win the new generation of radicalizing youth to the political perspectives of revolutionary socialism, to the struggle for the socialist transformation of Canada and the world.

In recent months the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes has undergone considerable growth. We are now the largest revolutionary youth movement in this country. We have active locals in parts of the country which have never before seen radical youth activity. This growth has stemmed from our correct understanding of the political situation in this country, from our program, which reflects the needs of Canadian and Quebecois youth better than any other, and from our ability to put that understanding and program into practice.

This handbook deals with our methods of activity, with the way we organize ourselves. It is not an infallible handbook of instructions, but rather a guide to the thinking our movement has done on organizational concepts and procedures.

These concepts and procedures

are radically different from those followed by any other organization. There is a good reason for this. Unlike any other organization, we aim to create a movement of revolutionaries who can lead the fight for socialism.

What does professionalism mean? It means that for us the making of the socialist revolution is the most important task before humankind, and that all other tasks must be subordinate to it. It means that we try to operate professionally in every way. The slipshod methods of the new left and the bureaucratic methods of the Communist Party and the NDP can never bring down the great power of the capitalist system.

Our "organizational" ideas and our "political" ideas are not separate. They are one and the same. You cannot make a revolution without a correct analysis and strategy. You also cannot make a revolution without an organized and effective movement. We have set ourselves the task of building that movement in this country, and we can depend on no one but ourselves to carry out our work. This handbook is designed to assist in that process.

The Organizational Character of the YS/LJS

The organizational forms of the YS/LJS flow directly from our politics. We aim to make a socialist revolution in Canada, and our organization is designed to accomplish that goal.

"Democratic Centralism" as our organizational form is called, has developed through over 50 years of experience of the revolutionary movement. Originally developed by Lenin and the Bolshevik party, beginning in 1903, democratic centralism has been refined through the experiences of the Bolsheviks and of the parties and movements which participated in the creation of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

Among the most useful experiences in building a revolutionary party are those of the American revolutionary socialists in the Socialist Workers Party. James P. Cannon, a socialist activist since before World War I and one of the founders of American Trotskyism, has documented these experiences in a series of books which provide the best guide to the practice of democratic centralism. (See page 11.)

However no one has ever written a "Bolshevik Rules of Order", because it can't be done. Democratic centralism is a highly flexible method of organization, capable of application in any situation. The revolutionaries who organized underground in Nazi Europe obviously had to use somewhat different organizational methods than those used in Canada. Democratic

centralism is designed to adjust to changing circumstances.

WHAT IS DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM?

Democratic centralism embodies a number of concepts. It is applicable in any and all circumstances. It is not a set of rules which will guarantee success -- it is a means of building a revolutionary party.

First, it requires a movement of activists. We are not primarily a social club or debating society. We meet and discuss politics in order to act, in order to carry out activities which will hasten the establishment of a worker's government. This commitment to activism is in fact a requirement of membership in the YS/LJS: the constitution specifies "active participation in the movement" in the conditions of membership. Democratic centralism is designed to make this commitment to action effective, and conversely, requires an active and self-critical membership in order to work.

COMMON PROGRAM

In order to make our political activity as effective as possible, we strive to be a politically homogeneous organization. This does not mean a monolithic organization which tolerates no disagreements, such as the Communist Party or the Maoist groups, but rather an organization in which there is basic political agreement and understanding of our tasks. We don't expect that a new member will be able to defend every aspect of revolutionary socialism. But we do expect all

members to learn as much about that program as possible and to act to the best of their ability to carry it out.

Fundamental to the principle of democratic centralism is majority rule. That is, after a decision has been made, the adopted policy is the policy of the entire movement. All members carry out the policy. We don't expect those who might disagree to give up their disagreements, but we do insist that these disagreements be kept inside the movement. A single face is presented to the public.

Some radicals have suggested that this approach is undemocratic, that it stifles individual freedom. Actually it is the most democratic possible approach. It ensures that decisions made are effectively carried out, that a minority is not able to frustrate the decisions of the majority, and that different members of the movement are not working at cross purposes. It makes everyone responsible for the decisions made and carrying them out, leading to a serious attitude and greater involvement in making decisions.

It comes back to our desire to build an activist revolutionary movement. We don't discuss for the sake of discussion -- we discuss together in order to act together. Similarly we insist on loyalty. Majority rule and discipline cannot be forced on anyone, since we are a voluntary movement. Therefore, every member must be self-disciplined, must be above all loyal to the organization and the program of the YS/LJS and do his or her best to defend it at all times.

Centralism is just as crucial as democracy, in fact they are interlocked. This means that the leadership of the movement, democratically selected by the membership and involving the most committed, most experienced and politically able comrades, has the authority to speak and act with the full authority of the movement between conventions. The

leadership is guided by the constitution and deals with new problems in the spirit of convention decisions. Decisions of the Executive Council, the leadership body elected by the convention, are binding on the entire movement.

At a lower level, the executive of a YS/LJS local can act with the full authority of the local between local meetings. Obviously decisions of leading bodies are subject to approval or disapproval, and the leadership is subject to replacement, at local meetings and conferences, and at conventions.

These practices are all designed to safeguard the revolutionary effectiveness of the movement in combating one of the most powerful ruling classes in the world.

At the same time as we require loyalty, discipline and acceptance of centralism, the YS/LJS insists on the maximum possible democracy within the organization. We are the most democratic organization in existence. We aren't democratic because democracy is a "good idea" in the abstract, but because democracy is the best way of maintaining a correct policy over a period of time. Our program isn't decided on a whim -- it is determined by an analysis of the immediate needs and historic interests of youth.

No single individual or small group of self-appointed leaders can possibly have the experiences and knowledge to develop an accurate program at all times. Our movement has the best understanding of reality now and a program to meet it. Only through involving the entire activist membership in decision-making are we able to make adequate decisions by bringing all the varied experiences of comrades to bear on the problem at hand. Democracy does not guarantee that we will not go off the track, but without democracy we

would certainly not develop a correct program. As well, democracy is the only sound basis for centralism and loyalty, which must be based on the political agreement and commitment of the whole movement.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE YS/LJS

The YS/LJS is a voluntary organization. Therefore we have the right to insist that members meet certain qualifications. These conditions are outlined in article 4 of the constitution. They are briefly: agreement to abide by the program and discipline of the YS/LJS, loyal and active participation, and payment of dues. (At present, dues are 50 cents per month.) All of these requirements are necessary, and failure to meet any of them is grounds for being dropped from membership.

An important requirement of membership is a regular financial contribution. The 50 cents a month dues requirement is a minimum. Each local is required to remit to the Central Office that fifty cents, plus \$3.00 per member. This pays for the day-to-day expenses of a binational movement. The local must finance its own activities after paying this \$3.50 per member. That means that a member who is paying only dues is in fact a financial drain on the movement. We aim to be a self-sustaining movement, able to meet new challenges as they arise. Each member is expected to contribute financially to the best of his or her ability, on a weekly or a monthly basis. A comrade's seriousness about the finances of the movement is a good indicator of overall political seriousness.

The YS/LJS has a very firm position on illegal drugs. No member of the YS/LJS is to have anything to do with illegal drugs and is not to live in the same place as anyone using illegal drugs.

The movement cannot be open to reprisals by the police and the

courts on non-political grounds. We must not give the police any excuse for harrassing us, creating an atmosphere of illegality around our movement. Reprisals on drug charges may ebb and flow, but this is irrelevant to the policy of the movement. Also, we know that along with drugs, there is the drug culture. The drug culture is alien to Trotskyism. It is idealist, based on personal liberation rather than social revolution. We have to consciously oppose the drug culture, educating new members in our materialist concepts.

The policy of the movement on drugs should be clear to all comrades when they join. All comrades should be educated in the concepts of our movement and about the nature of our movement so that they can understand our policy on drugs.

New members must be accepted by the local in their area, or by the Executive Council in the event there is no local. The democratic control of membership by the movement assures that the policies of the movement are determined by people who support the basic ideas and objectives of the movement. Our membership is not open to anyone who wants to join, so we place this democratic control on it.

THE LOCAL

The basic unit of the YS/LJS is the local. A local must have at least three members, and the decision to form one in a given area is made by the Executive Council. All members of the YS/LJS in that area must be members of the local and participate in it. If there are less than three members in a given area, they have the status of members-at-large, responsible for carrying on the political activities in that area of the movement and payment of dues directly to the Central Office.

Each local elects its own executive and organizer, who are

responsible to the local as a whole. The local establishes its own committees, fractions, financial structure, including local dues above the basic 50 cents. The finances of the local are under control of the Central Office. The local decides on local implementation of the YS/LJS program, and in general is responsible for all the activities of the YS/LJS in the area.

The YS/LJS is not a federation of local groups. Each local should see itself as a component and integral part of the entire movement. Thus, for example, when a country-wide campaign is carried, whether it is a fund drive, a speaking tour, a series of demonstrations, or whatever, each local must work to ensure the success of that campaign. Our policies, decided by the Convention and the Executive Council, are binding on the entire movement.

Our ability to carry cross-country campaigns on a whole series of issues is one of the main sources of our effectiveness. By coordinating our work we are able to have a far greater impact than would otherwise be the case. Our work in opposition to the War Measures Act and in defense of the imprisoned Quebecois which definitively turned the tide of sentiment against the federal government, is a key example of this.

We recognize that we face an international enemy, world capitalism. Thus we must have an international strategy and international coordination. We work to build close ties with such organizations as the Young Socialist Alliance in the U.S., the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes in Belgium, the Socialist Youth Alliance in Australia and many others. Through the League for Socialist Action, the Canadian section of the Fourth International, we maintain close ties with the Fourth International.

CONVENTIONS

A convention is the highest decision-making body of the YS/LJS. It decides on our program and policies, settling any questions which may be in dispute, and its decisions are binding on the whole movement. While a convention is in session it has the authority to make literally any decision about the character and policies of the whole YS/LJS simply by taking a majority vote.

Normally, conventions do not attempt to deal with the minutiae of campaigns and tactics. Rather they attempt to decide the overall political direction of our work.

Conventions are delegated bodies. Delegates are elected by locals on a proportional basis. In this way a local can elect who it wants as its representatives on the basis of their role in the movement, and every local is represented fairly at the convention. A travel pool is set up so that all elected delegates will be able to attend no matter how distant their local is from the convention site and regardless of the state of the local's treasury.

The Executive Council submits for a vote, resolutions on what it considers to be the major questions before the convention. Prior to the convention a discussion period is opened, during which any member may submit written articles on any aspect of our work or program for distribution to the entire movement. These may be reports, comments, or proposed resolutions for the convention.

All these discussion articles and resolutions are discussed by the membership of the locals. In the event that there are two or more opposing resolutions submitted to the convention, those supporting each view are entitled to representation in proportion to their strength in a given local. Thus if a local is divided 60-40 then the majority would elect 60% of the loc

-als delegates and the minority would elect 40%. Delegates cannot be mandated to vote a certain way, either by the local or by a tendency. If, after hearing the convention discussion, delegates wish to vote differently than they did in their locals, they are free to do so. Otherwise, there would be no point in holding a convention, the delegates could have stayed at home and their votes just tabulated -- everything could have been decided ahead of time.

It is possible that an individual or two might write a resolution which received support from almost no one in the movement. In such a case the convention is not bound to consider the resolution at all. The presidium and the convention itself decides what it wants discussed and voted upon. This ensures that no individual or series of individuals can dominate the convention's time, preventing it from functioning effectively.

At the convention, full time is allowed for the presentation and discussion of all viewpoints, and a vote is taken on each resolution. That decision is binding, and the discussion is closed until a future discussion period, or until the movement decides to re-open it.

LEADERSHIP

One of the key responsibilities of the convention is the election of the Executive Council, the cross-country leadership body of the YS/LJS. The EC must be composed of the most experienced and tested comrades, but more than that it must be a body capable of working as a team to lead the movement between conventions. One comrade might be a "star" in some area of activity but be unable to contribute to such a team. We have had experiences in the YS/LJS with local leaders who were very capable in their own way, but who were directly harmful to the building of a collective leadership.

Other organizations (witness

the NDP) select their leaders on the basis of their personality or the support they have in various power blocks. Some organizations claim to have no leaders, with the result that real authority falls into the hands of a clique which is not responsible to the membership. We reject both approaches to leadership and consciously try to build a political leadership. Much of our activity is devoted to training each and every member of the YS/LJS to be a leader of mass movements and struggles. We place the same emphasis on training leadership of our own movement.

The selection of the Executive Council cannot be left to chance, or to popularity contests. It must be a matter of careful thought and deliberation. As well, we must ensure rank-and-file control over the composition of the EC, and inhibit all tendencies towards self-renewing leadership.

The convention as a whole is unable to involve itself in the detailed selection of the cross-country leadership. Therefore each delegation selects from its ranks a representative to sit on a nominating commission. These representatives are not normally members of the outgoing EC. (In fact, members of the outgoing EC do not normally run as delegates. ECers who are not elected delegates have voice and consultative vote at conventions.)

The Nominating Commission meets as often as necessary during the convention, often missing sessions. Submissions are invited from any member of the YS/LJS who wishes to propose nominations or discuss the composition of the leadership. The Nominating Commission makes it its business to learn as much as it can about the potential leadership, in order to draw up a slate which is geographically and politically balanced, which comprises a team of comrades who can lead the movement. This selection of leadership can only be carried out by a body like the Nominating Commission which has

considerable time at its disposal to hear the views of comrades who make submissions and then weigh them at length to come up with the balanced leadership which is necessary. The slate is presented to the convention to be voted on.

By using the Nominating Commission, we ensure two key things. Rank-and-file control over the Executive Council and maximum care and consciousness in electing leaders. We are attempting to make a revolution -- choosing and creating the leadership of that revolution is our most important task.

After the convention, the Executive Council meets to decide on the division of labor within the body, and to allocate the resources necessary to the tasks before the movement. It appoints an Executive Secretary, Editors, regional organizers, and so on. It decides who will be freed from responsibilities in one local or another to devote full-time to the activities of the movement as a whole. As well, since the Executive Council cannot meet more than a few times between conventions, it elects the Central Executive Council which is resident in the center (Toronto) and which acts with all the power of the Executive Council between EC meetings.

All the Quebec members of the EC form a National Council, which is in charge of implementing convention decisions within the nation of Quebec, under the authority of the Executive Council.

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION/ LIGUE SOCIALISTE OUVRIERE

The YS/LJS is a youth movement. We are not the revolutionary working class party which will ultimately lead the Canadian revolution. The YS/LJS, being primarily a student organization, active in the student milieu, works in one of the key parts of the radicalization -- but only one part. The revolution has to involve all sectors of the oppressed,

in particular the working class. For this task a party rooted in all the sectors of the radicalization and drawing them together, is necessary. Our primary task is to help to build such a party. The nucleus of that party is the LSA/LSO.

During our years of activity we have worked very closely with the LSA/LSO, and it has been of great assistance to us, both organizationally and politically. Our constitution defines the two organizations as "organizationally independent parts of a common movement" and we support the objectives and program of the LSA/LSO. This relationship is further clarified in a statement adopted in 1963 by the LSA/LSO and in 1965 by the YS/LJS (see page 15). All members of the YS/LJS are encouraged to see joining the LSA/LSO as a major political objective, and to participate fully in LSA/LSO activities.

CONCLUSION

We are building a movement to fight for socialism -- the character of our movement is determined by the task we set ourselves. Our movement cannot be a model of socialist society -- we are products of capitalism and we are fighting against capitalism.

We attempt to build a spirit of co-operation and comradeship in our movement. As one of the pioneers of world Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, once said, comradeship is more powerful than friendship, because it involves working in solidarity for a common goal, often with people you will never meet. This international revolutionary comradeship is at the same time one of the most politically effective and personally satisfying aspects of the socialist movement. Organizations based on personal friendship or finances last only so long as the friendship or the money lasts. Organizations in which personal likes and dislikes take precedence over political collaboration and solidarity are ultimate-

ly doomed. But an organization based on comradeship can last as long as its political ideas are

relevant and its tasks unrealized, until we have built a socialist world.

Further Reading

V.I. Lenin, What is to be Done?
James P. Cannon, The Struggle for a Proletarian Party.

James P. Cannon, The History of American Trotskyism.

James P. Cannon, The First Ten Years of American Communism.

James P. Cannon, Letters From Prison.

James P. Cannon, "The Vanguard Party and World Revolution" in Fifty Years of World Revolution.

Ernest Mandel, "The Leninist Theory of Organization" in Inter-

national Socialist Review, December 1970.

"The Organizational Concepts of the YSA" in Organizing the YSA. Organizational Character and Constitution of the LSA/LSO.

"Building the Revolutionary Party in Canada" in Documents of the 1970 LSA/LSO Convention.

Farrell Dobbs, The Structure and Organizational Principles of the Party, in Socialist Workers Party "Education for Socialists" series, June 1971.

Constitution: Introduction

In writing our constitution, the YS/LJS attempted to prepare a document which embodied the organizational experiences and traditions of the revolutionary socialist movement won over years of struggle, and which was flexible enough to assimilate new and unanticipated experiences which would ensure the effectiveness of the movement we are building. It, like any other YS/LJS decisions, can be amended by majority vote at a convention. In fact it has been amended several times, as experience has taught us more about how

to organize a movement.

A constitution is not a list of instructions for members. It is not a list of what the various bodies of the movement are permitted to do. It is, rather, a set of statements which together outline the structure of the organization and its purposes. As has been emphasized elsewhere in this pamphlet, democratic centralism is a flexible means of organization -- therefore we need a flexible constitution, which serves as a guide to the movement.

YS/LJS Constitution

(as adopted by the founding convention of the Young Socialists, July 17, 1965, and amended at the conventions of the YS/LJS of July 1967, July 1968 and October 1969.)

Article 1: Name:

The name of this organization

shall be Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS)

Article 2: Purpose:

The YS/LJS is a revolutionary socialist youth movement functioning in both the French and English nations of Canada. Its purpose is

to educate youth to the program of revolutionary Marxism and enlist the youth of our society in the struggle to build a vanguard party capable of leading to the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of the basis for socialism -- a workers' state.

Article 3: Relationship to LSA/LSO:

The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the YS/LJS are organizationally independent parts of a common movement. The YS/LJS declares its adherence to the objectives and program of the LSA/LSO, but within that framework is completely independent as an organization. The YS/LJS adheres to the statement of relationship between the youth and the League adopted by the 1963 LSA convention.

Article 4: Membership:

a) Membership shall be open to anyone 27 years of age or under who agrees to abide by the program and discipline of the YS/LJS, and who shall contribute loyal and active participation in the movement to the best of his or her ability.

b) Application for membership shall be decided by the local in the applicant's area. In the event that no local exists in the area, the applicant shall apply to the Central Executive Council and may be admitted as a member-at-large.

c) Each member shall pay a sum to be determined by the EC as monthly dues. Locals are responsible for collecting these dues and forwarding them to the Central Office. Members-at-large shall forward their own dues.

d) Any member more than three months in arrears in dues ceases to be a member in good standing. Only members in good standing may vote or hold office in the YS/LJS. Members not in good standing may be dropped after notification.

e) In all political activities, YS/LJS members operate as a disciplined body and are bound

by the decisions of the governing bodies.

Article 5: Bi-national Conventions:

a) The bi-national convention is the highest body of the YS/LJS and shall meet at least once every two years.

b) Emergency conventions may be called by the Executive Council or by demand of locals representing at least one-third of the membership. Normally 90 days notice will be given.

c) The CEC shall regulate the pre-convention discussion. All members and bodies have the right to submit documents for internal circulation and discussion.

d) The election of delegates and alternates to conventions shall be conducted in local units. Delegates shall be elected in proportion to the local membership in good standing as of a certain date to be announced in the convention call. This date shall not be earlier than the date of the Convention call, and not later than the publication of the first pre-convention discussion bulletin.

e) The ratio of delegates to membership at conventions shall be determined by the Executive Council as shall be the basis for representation of minorities.

f) In cases where a significant political division exists the election of delegates shall be proportional. A political division exists only when a written document is presented and voted upon.

g) EC members (or alternates) who are not elected as convention delegates shall have voice but no vote.

Article 6: Executive Council:

a) The EC shall be the highest authority between conventions. It shall have jurisdiction over all YS/LJS bodies and publications.

b) The size and ratio of the EC shall be decided by the convention which shall elect the EC. In the election of the EC all significant minorities generally shall have representation.

c) Alternate members of the EC may be elected by, and only by, the convention. Alternates shall have voice and consultative vote at plenums of the EC, and shall have access to the minutes of the CEC. The EC may co-opt members to itself from among the alternates. In the case of such co-option, it shall be of such character as not to alter the existing political balance of the EC.

d) The EC shall meet before and after conventions and at least once in years in which there is no convention, or at the demand of one half of the EC members.

Article 7: Central Executive Council:

a) The Central Executive Council shall be elected by and from the Executive Council, and shall act on behalf of the EC between plenary meetings of the EC. It shall be accorded full authority of the EC except that all its decisions shall be subject to review by the EC as a whole. On demand of not less than one-third of the EC members, any CEC decision shall be subject to a poll of the entire EC. The CEC shall be responsible for the supervision of the Central Office, its staff, all YS/LJS publications, and for the application of convention and EC decisions between conventions.

b) The CEC shall have the authority to co-opt EC members or alternates to CEC membership, provided that such co-option does not alter the existing political balance of the CEC.

c) In general, all significant minorities shall be represented on the CEC.

Article 8: Central Officers:

a) All central officers shall be responsible directly to the CEC and shall be elected from and by the EC. The EC shall elect an Executive Secretary and any other central officers it deems necessary.

b) The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for the administration of the Central Office.

Article 9: Organization:

a) Upon application to the CEC, three members in an area may be granted the status of a local.

b) A local shall function in a regular manner. It shall elect officers and working committees to carry out the responsibilities of the movement.

c) All decisions of the YS/LJS shall be made by majority vote.

d) Robert's Rules of Order shall govern procedure except where it conflicts with this constitution.

e) Local by-laws shall not conflict with this constitution.

f) In all matters, the principles of democratic centralism shall rule.

Article 10: Discipline:

a) Any member or body of the YS/LJS may bring charges against any member for violation of the constitution or discipline of the YS/LJS.

b) The accused shall normally be tried by the highest body of which he is a member, although that body may elect to refer the question to a lower body.

c) A member may be disciplined by censure, internal or

public, suspension, or expulsion.

d) Every member has the right to appeal disciplinary action to higher bodies, including the convention. The accused shall have 30 days to announce intent of appeal of the decision.

e) Pending the outcome of any appeal, disciplinary action shall remain in full force and effect.

Article 11: Amendments:

a) This constitution can be amended only by a convention.

Quebec National Council

adopted Feb. 28, 1971, by the Central Executive Council

1. The formation of the National Council is based on the position on Quebec adopted by last bi-national convention of the YS/LJS, Dec. 31 -- Jan. 2, 1971, and has the purpose of:-

a) expressing organizationally our total identification with the struggle for an independent Quebec and of making the participation of the YS/LJS in the struggle for an independent and socialist Quebec more effective and complete. The YS/LJS aims to win the leadership of the student youth who are struggling for Quebec independence and to collaborate with the LSA/L60 in the struggle for an independent socialist Quebec. This is to be accomplished through the development of a self-sustaining Quebec leadership which meets regularly to discuss the political questions and to organize the work.

b) building the basis of a structure which reflects our development as a Quebec movement, with locals and members-at-large outside the locals.

c) allowing the whole pan-Canadian movement to reinforce its capacity to coordinate its bi-national campaigns.

2. What is the National Council?

a) The National Council of the Quebec YS/LJS is composed of all the Quebec members of the Executive Council elected by the delegates at the bi-national convention of the

YS/LJS, the alternates to the Executive Council being alternates to the National Council with the right to speak but not to vote.

b) The National Council (NC) must assign a National Secretary, and any other personnel, in order to assure the setting up and the proper functioning of a national office. This is for the purpose of accumulating and allocating human and material resources, to facilitate the development of a movement which includes all YS/LJSers in Quebec.

c) To this end the National Office must have a financial base.

d) The NC must meet at least once every two months. The exact date of the meeting, if it is not determined at a previous meeting of the NC, must be decided upon and announced by the National Secretary.

3. Responsibilities of the National Council

a) The National Council is in charge of applying to Quebec the line adopted by the previous pan-Canadian convention of the YS/LJS and elaborated between the conventions under the direction of the Executive Council.

b) To this end the NC has the right of calling national conventions when it deems necessary; i.e., at least once a year.

c) In the case of national campaigns and actions, the NC is in charge of coordinating and organizing the locals and the members outside the locals in Quebec, within the framework of the authority and of the decisions of the Executive Council.

d) Any regional organizer or anybody holding a post outside the individual locals is subject to the authority of the NC including the editors of our publications in Quebec and their editorial committees.

e) All the aspects of the press in Quebec are directed by the NC subject to the authority of the Executive Council.

f) Half of the dues of all the members in Quebec, in one particular local, or outside any local, goes to the financing of the National Office. Moreover the NC has the

right to organize fund drives or other means of raising money with the approval of the Executive Council.

g) The National Office must take care of the correspondence, written and financial, and of the liaison in general, with members-at-large in Quebec. The NC has the authority to recruit members-at-large in Quebec and to transfer a member of a local to the status of member-at-large or to another local inside Quebec.

h) The NC is in charge of calling and organizing national educational conferences, and in general of leading the educational work in Quebec.

i) This constitution is not in any way in conflict with that of the YS/LJS and can only be amended or modified by the Executive Council of the YS/LJS.

YS/LJS-LSA/LSO Relations

Statement adopted by the LSA (1963) Convention and the YS 1965 Convention

The youth -- an organization of revolutionary socialist youth in basic agreement with the program and policies that the League represents and advocates in the ranks of the adult Canadian working class -- is recognized by it as a fully autonomous organization.

The youth determines its own policies and activities, elects its own leadership, under the guiding principles of democratic centralism. The League's relation is of the closest fraternal character -- placing what facilities it possesses at the youth's disposal, giving it the benefit of its experiences, collaborating with it in the day to day work of advancing the cause of the working class.

The League governs itself by the principles of democratic centralism. Members of the League are committed to expound and to imple-

ment its views and decisions in whatever organization they participate, including the youth movement.

In the process of our work it is possible, even probable, that misunderstandings and differences will arise that will involve the conduct of comrades who have membership in both organizations.

Contradictions between decisions taken in the League and youth can be resolved through discussion and common agreement. There is no formula of an organizational character that can meet this problem. Any proposition to liquidate the democratic centralist character of the youth has no support in the League for it would transform the former into a centrist current and render it incapable of developing as a serious force for revolutionary socialism

Riddell & Co. violated this in the Cdn-US debate ...

R.D. Note: "Riddell & Co. violated this in the Cdn-US debate ..."

and for the leadership of the advanced elements of the Canadian youth.

Where the youth might make decisions that are thought to violate positions that are held by the League the normal procedure would be to delay action until such time as the problem can be worked out to the satisfaction of both. League members in the youth do not have special privileges but on the contrary must demonstrate heightened responsibility.

The interpenetration of the two organizations should be seen primarily as a factor that will

serve to overcome conflicts. Conflicts can be further counteracted by:

1. representation of leading youth comrades on executive bodies of the League,
2. by the understanding that the youth, in so far as they may be less experienced, have to learn from their own experiences, that learning is not only ideological but an actual experience in life itself,
3. by a sense of proportion of the relative importance of the questions at dispute,
4. by a proper sensitivity on the part of the League to the autonomous character of the youth movement.

Organizing a Local

A local of the YS/LJS is a vehicle for young socialists in the same community to work together. It is the basic unit of the organization of our movement; it helps get the most out of the efforts of individual members, applies convention decisions in the local area, and directs the day-to-day work of the movement. A local consists of at least three members of the YS/LJS in any community, and must be formally established by the Central Executive Council.

The local should meet regularly, at least once every two weeks, more commonly once a week. The meetings should be planned ahead of time, with prepared reports. This gets our work done most efficiently, and ensures the greatest democracy for all members, since it's always easier to participate in an organized discussion where the issues are clear.

THE EXECUTIVE

Each local of the movement needs an executive to lead its work. The size of the executive will vary, depending on the size of the local. A smaller local will have a smaller executive with fewer responsibilities allocated to it. A large local with more varied activities will need a stronger executive so that it can work out the tasks of the local and present them clearly at

local meetings, and so that the direction is not lost in an exchange of information.

What is the job of the executive? It is generally responsible for the political direction of the local, and for overseeing its work, involving all the comrades in the work. The executive is elected by the local and is responsible to it. Like the local, the executive should meet regularly, before local meetings, in order to consider how the work is going in the various areas, and to prepare recommendations and reports for the local meeting. Between local meetings, the executive acts on behalf of the local, and members of the local are obliged to follow its direction until the next meeting where if necessary it can be redefined or changed.

In selecting an executive we take a series of factors into account. It must represent the real leadership of the local, and thus include at least some of the most experienced and tested members of the local. We seek to maintain continuity of leadership.

The movement as a whole and all the bodies of the movement are training grounds for leadership. Membership on the executive can expedite this process for some comrades who show leadership potential. The executive should include some newer, developing comrades.

The executive should not be seen as a committee with representatives from all the local's various work areas and fractions. Normally the executive keeps in touch with developments in all areas, by inviting the coordinators to attend executive meetings from time to time.

There is no hard and fast rule about how often executive elections should take place, but we have found that twice a year is generally best.

LOCAL CONFERENCES

Every local should hold organizational conferences when they feel that they are needed. Usually, these conferences are held twice a year, once in the early fall, when we are just going into the new term on campus and in the high schools, and one in the late spring when the school year is drawing to a close.

The conferences should be prepared in close collaboration with the central leadership and in light of the decisions of the convention and supplementary decisions of the cross-country leadership. The conferences discuss the application of the convention line to the work in the local's area and make decisions of a fairly long range character about the work of the local. The executive begins to meet well in advance of the conference -- perhaps a month -- to draw up an agenda and prepare reports.

At a fall conference, heading into a new school term, the local might decide to launch several important campaigns in the schools over a period of some months. It might also discuss the circulation of the press, how the local's contact and educational work can best be organized, and other discussions of this character.

Unlike local meetings which discuss the local's work on a day-

to-day basis, the conference is a time to step back and take a long-range view. At a conference there will normally be reports on each of our areas of activity, analyzing our past work, its successes and shortcomings, and projecting campaigns and priorities for the next period.

There are many factors to be considered in determining the local's priorities. One of the most important is the cross-country campaigns called by conventions or by the CEC, such as subscription and fund drive campaigns, or campaigns like the one we are carrying to defend political prisoners in Quebec. Locals are obliged to respond to these campaigns.

There are other things to be considered in establishing priorities, including the human and material resources of the local, local conditions, any opportunities for campaigns or popular actions around local issues and, above all, what course of action will win the greatest number of new members to the local.

Another important job of the conference is to elect a new leadership for the local. This is the time that the new executive, organizer and other officers of the local are elected.

THE ORGANIZER

The post of organizer is the most important one in the local. The organizer leads the local and the executive. The organizer coordinates the activities of the different areas, intervening to assist certain areas which may be weak at a particular time. The organizer has to give direction in the carrying of the campaigns of the movement, seeing to it that the priorities are followed. She or he should have an overview of the work of the movement and be capable of taking initiatives to orient the movement to opportunities which face it.

The organizer isn't supposed to do the work for everyone else, but rather to help develop the collaborative efforts of the local as a whole. The organizer has to see to it that none of the movement's resources are wasted, that all comrades are drawn into the work of the local, and given assignments which best suit their capabilities. The organizer has to work to build in the executive a team which leads the local as a whole. The largest part of the organizer's job lies in the realm of communicating -- keeping the local and central office in close collaboration, speaking in public at every opportunity in the name of the YS/LJS, and aiding in discussions with comrades about their assignments and their political development.

THE SECRETARY

In very large locals, there may be a couple of dozen different assignments, coordinators and directors who are leading the work of the local in the various areas. But to run a local of any size, there are a few positions which are absolutely essential. One of these is the secretary. The basic job of the secretary is to record the decisions of the local meeting in the form of minutes. A sample set of minutes that any local might use are appended.

It is essential that the movement has a thoroughly reliable record of political decisions taken, which it can refer to if necessary. The minutes should constitute a brief and clear account of the reports and decisions of each meeting. This is a job which requires considerable political judgement, and the secretary should be elected with this in mind. The minutes of the previous meeting should always be read to each meeting of the local for approval as read, or for changes if that is necessary. A copy of the minutes of each meet-

ing should be sent into the Central Office as soon as possible after the meeting takes place. This is a quick and easy way for the Central Office to be in touch with what is happening in each area. Another important task of the secretary is acting as a go-between in communications between the local and the Central Office. The secretary should always read circulars and directives from the Central Office to the local, and convey to the Central Office any decisions of the local in response.

The secretary must be a permanent position. Some organizations have tried the idea of rotating secretaries, electing a new person each meeting to take minutes. We have found this unsatisfactory. By assigning one person to do this on a regular basis, you develop greater efficiency -- you get the kind of minutes that are useful to the movement.

FINANCIAL DIRECTOR

Another very important position in the local is that of financial director. The financial work of the movement is one of the most important aspects of its work; in fact, without a solid financial base, we would be unable to mimeograph one leaflet, print one issue of the paper, or do any of the other political projects that we undertake. As you can see, the financial director is in a very important position. The financial director should be a political leader of the local. She or he should have a good grasp of the financial workings of the movement, and not be afraid to insist that other comrades meet their financial obligations. A good financial director should be constantly thinking of the overall financial work of the local, should have plenty of initiative and be thinking how our financial situation can be improved so that it be-

comes less of a determining factor in our political actions. At the same time the director should be thorough and know how to keep track of funds and maintain accurate records.

COMMITTEES, COORDINATORS AND FRACTIONS

Full local meetings and executive meetings have the responsibility of deciding the general direction of the movement's work. They cannot possibly deal with all of the minute details that are involved in given campaigns or activities. For this reason locals designate coordinators for certain areas and, in larger locals or for major work areas, committees which have the responsibility of seeing that the work is actually carried out. Thus most locals will have an education coordinator, a recruitment coordinator, a women's liberation coordinator, a high school coordinator, etc. Whether a committee is also created depends on the size of the local and the amount of activity that can be carried or opened up in the work area.

Normally the committee will meet weekly to discuss its work area of responsibility, to plan the work, and to discuss its report for the coming local meeting. The organizer will often attend such meetings in order to help keep in touch with the various work areas of the movement. The committee and/or coordinator is not at all responsible for doing all the work, but for ensuring that it gets done.

For many work areas, a local will have fractions. As the name implies, a fraction is a part of the local assigned to work in a given area or project. Thus all the comrades active in women's liberation would form a fraction, all those in high school, and so on. The fraction should meet regularly to discuss its work and to establish and maintain its division of labor.

LITERATURE AND SALES COORDINATOR

Our primary task in this period is propaganda -- the spreading of our ideas. Each local will need a literature and sales coordinator to direct the sales and circulation of the publications of our movement. No member of the local, no matter how experienced and knowledgeable in the politics of Trotskyism, can explain our program as fully and carefully as the written material we have at our disposal.

The Young Socialist, Liberation and Labor Challenge, regularly cover and analyze developments in the labor and student movements in Quebec, English Canada and across the world. Our pamphlets and books deal with the women's liberation movement, the struggle for an independent socialist Quebec, the anti-war movement, all the important questions that students are interested in. Everywhere that students gather, - we should be there with newspapers and pamphlets, in schools, at movies, on the beaches and on the streets.

The best way to organize sales is to have regular mobilizations of the entire local. After local meetings is a good time. All other meetings and assignments should be cancelled for that period so that everybody can take part. Income from sales should be carefully recorded and kept separate from the other money of the local. For one thing, this means that sales money is not used to subsidize other local activities and can be sent quickly to the paper, and bundle payments kept up to date. It also enables the local to see very easily how they are doing at sales. Finally, the sales coordinator should see to it that each issue of the Young Socialist is studied and evaluated by the local, and that any suggestions for improving the

paper are transmitted to the editorial board. As well, each local should assign one comrade to ensure that reports of the local's activities are sent to the Young Socialist.

EDUCATION WORK

Everytime a new member joins the YS/LJS, she or he undertakes the responsibility of becoming a rounded revolutionary leader, to acquire a basic knowledge of the ideas of Marxism, and to learn how to apply them as circumstances require. And of course the movement, in its turn has an equal obligation to make it as easy as possible for members to learn those ideas. There are a number of different ways in which locals can organize the education of their members. One way is by making sure that new members or prospective members are introduced to the publications and pamphlets of the movement, and encouraged to read them regularly.

Every local meeting should have a certain time, usually 40 minutes, set aside for a prepared presentation on some aspect of our theory or work. The time period is usually divided in half - 20 minutes for the presentation and 20 minutes for questions and discussion. Such time limits are important, since learning to express our ideas clearly and concisely is an important part of learning to convince others about socialism.

No local should ever get into the habit of "postponing" educational activity because the meeting is too long or for any other reason. In many ways, the educational period is the most important part of a meeting. Every effort should be made to have every member give educationals, and the educational coordinator should assist the comrade so that it is a completely positive experience for both the comrade and the local.

The line-up of educational topics should be proposed by the educational committee and approved by the local far enough in advance (3 weeks usually) to enable the comrades nominated to prepare. In the event that a presentation does fall through, the education committee should have alternatives up its sleeve which can be used at the last minute.

As well, locals should be organizing classes, discussion groups etc. All locals should have a program of introductory classes for new and prospective members. If there is a branch of the LSA/LSO in your city you should make full use of the educational resources of the branch. The local should collaborate with the branch to build the public forums. In some areas, special summer schools are organized during the summer months, in which comrades can go through a concentrated educational experience in a short time. Locals which do not yet have the resources to carry summer schools of their own should consider travelling to those locals that do, and participating in their program.

RECRUITMENT

The index of how our work is going in any area is the number of new members we win. This aspect of our work is of critical importance and should be organized from the ground up. The work is directed by a recruitment coordinator and a committee, but it can only be successful if the entire local is involved and is conscious of the vital importance of contact work and recruitment. Classes, social events, personal discussion, all these things need to be organized to bring people into the movement.

We should be very bold in our recruitment to the YS/LJS. Possibilities for recruitment are widening in face of the growing radicalization. We have no serious political opponents in the student arena.

We want new members to understand the basic aspects of our program, and above all to be eager to join and work for the YS/LJS. Formal discussions should be held with every new member by the organizer to make sure he or she understands the conditions of membership in the movement, the necessity for active participation in the work of the movement, the financial obligations, and the proscription of drugs. The organizer brings the proposal to recruit to the executive which makes a recommendation to the local which votes on it.

THE LOCAL MEETING

Regular procedures and formality in our discussions is vital if we are to ensure that decisions will be made correctly and democratically. The procedures followed by the YS/LJS have proven to be the most democratic and yet most efficient available.

The meeting begins with the organizer asking for nominations for chairperson. The chairperson is elected by the meeting, and is in charge of keeping order, recognizing speakers, watching time limits, calling the vote on motions, and so on. It is important to the success of the local meetings that the chairperson be acquainted with the rules of order -- that we consciously train comrades as chairpersons. The formal procedures of the meetings make it possible for every member wanting to do so to participate in discussions; nobody gets to dominate meetings because of a louder voice or greater self-confidence.

The chairperson reads the agenda proposed by the executive, and asks if there are any additions, deletions or changes proposed. The meeting has the right to decide what it will or will not discuss. The agenda is then followed, point by point, with an eye towards getting the most accomplished in the most democratic way in the least possible time.

An agenda might read like this:

1. Election of chairperson.
2. Adoption of agenda.
3. Reading of minutes of previous meeting.
4. Executive Report - given by the organizer. 20 minutes.
5. Recruitment Report - by the recruitment coordinator. 10 minutes.
6. Women's Liberation Report - by the coordinator. 15 minutes.
7. YS and Literature Sales Report. 5 minutes.
8. Break - 10 minutes.
9. Educational presentation and discussion. 40 minutes.
10. Educational Report. 10 minutes.
11. Campus Report. 10 minutes.
12. Subscription Drive Report. 10 minutes.
13. New Business Report.
14. Calendar of coming events read by organizer.
15. Adjournment.

Of course not everything would be on the agenda of every meeting, and the executive should plan the meeting to ensure that there is time for adequate reports and discussion on the most important questions. Reports should be worked out in advance, in consultation with the executive, to ensure that they are brief, clear and to the point, raising the political questions involved.

The executive report might include the following items:

1. The following comrades are absent with reason: John A. and Martha B. are sick. Sam C. has to study for a test. Fred D. is at an anti-war committee meeting.
2. Monica E. has asked to join the YS/LJS. The executive has discussed her application and would like to move that she be accepted as a member. Monica has been active in the Women's Liberation movement with us and has been attending our activities for several weeks. She has been subscribing to the Young Socialist, has taken out a sub to Labor Challenge, and is reading some of our basic liter-

ature. She has participated in a recruitment class completely satisfying the director that she has a grasp of our essential ideas.

3. The following circulars were received from the Central Office this week: the anti-war report will be taken up under the appropriate point in the agenda; the subscription drive scoreboard and a report on regional organizing which will be read now.

4. Tony F. has requested a leave of absence from July 3 to July 14. He will be taking his vacation then. The executive would like to recommend that his request be granted.

5. The executive feels that we need more people directly assigned to educational work. We therefore recommend that Frank G. be added to the educational committee.

Now to go over these items in more detail. Attendance at local meetings is the most basic responsibility of comrades. If a comrade cannot make a meeting, she or he should request an excused absence from the executive, through the organizer.

To become a member of the YS/LJS the person's application must be approved by the local. Having the executive committee go over applications and make reports and recommendations allows this process to be handled in a clear, unambiguous way. The person being discussed should not be present during this report, in order that there can be a frank discussion if necessary.

Circulars from the Central Office marked "To all locals and members-at-large" are for the information of all members. They should be announced at meetings, and either read or summarized.

When a comrade for reasons beyond control cannot be active in the local for a period of time, the correct procedure is to ask

for a leave of absence. This is so that the comrade's assignments can be taken care of, and so that the local knows where the comrade is and can keep the comrade informed of what is going on preparatory to their return to political activity. Comrades on a leave of absence will continue to pay dues and pledges and be under the discipline of the movement.

All transfers from one local to another must be cleared, preferably in advance, by the Central Executive Council, so that the leadership can keep a clear view of the human resources of each local. When a comrade wishes to move to another local, subject to the approval of the local, he or she is released from the local membership. Once the transfer is accepted by the CEC, his or her membership is accepted in the new local. A local cannot refuse to accept a transfer. A letter should be sent to the new local introducing the new comrade and the comrade's financial status.

Reports and proposals from the executive or from coordinators should be voted on by the local. Passing a motion to approve a report implies acceptance of its main line of argument and its recommendations, and is binding on the whole local. Any member may make additional motions or amendments. No seconder is required for motions in local meetings.

Some locals have tried holding local meetings on the campus itself, in a classroom or office, as a way of implanting our movement more firmly in the student milieu on a day-to-day basis, and making it easier for students to participate. Locals should investigate the possibility of securing offices on campus to be centers of our campus activities, even if we don't hold local meetings there.

DUES AND PLEDGES

Having found at least three

persons in a community prepared to devote their time and energy to the application of our program at every possible opportunity, one of the next steps in establishing a local of the YS/LJS is setting up a firm financial structure and making sure all members are aware of their financial responsibilities to the movement.

Each member of the movement is required to pay a basic dues of 50¢ per month which is a condition of membership in the YS/LJS. Above and beyond that, all members are asked to make a monthly pledge, which constitutes the basic source of income for the local and for the Central Office. The Central Office of course has no independent income and depends on regular monthly payments from the locals in order to maintain its staff and turn out circulars, posters, buttons, etc., that we need for our work. Each local is required to pay to the Central Office \$3.50 per member per month. The difference between that and the total pledges of the local goes to maintain the activities of the local.

The dues and pledges are an important part of each member's commitment to the movement. This is a small enough sacrifice since you're giving everything else you have, particularly your time, which is far more precious than money. Each comrade should make a realistic appraisal of what she or he can afford on a regular monthly basis and budget for it. The key to success here is consistency. The local plans its month's activities on the basis of pledges made in advance, and if comrades fail to come through, the whole operation is dislocated. The local should of course plan other ways to raise money such as films, parties, student council budgets, approaching friendly profs. etc.

REGIONAL ORGANIZING

The last convention of the YS/LJS discussed the possibilities of setting up new locals in dozens

of cities and towns across Canada. Already, with only a minimal amount of regional organizing work, many new locals have been set up in new areas since the convention, and immediate possibilities exist for several more. The only way we can meet these possibilities is for established locals to undertake regional organizing work in their province or area. We are not yet in the position to sustain full-time regional organizers everywhere they are needed. Locals should strike off regional organizers who will spend weekends and whatever other time they can get, travelling to nearby towns, selling the paper on campus, at high schools and special events, handing out leaflets, putting up posters, meeting people and establishing locals. The regional organizer should be able to involve all members of the local in this work, at one time or another. Most important, this work of making contacts in new areas and setting up new locals has to be followed through. Newly established locals will need a great deal of assistance particularly in fields like educational work.

Ours is a campaigning organization. We try to maintain a campaign atmosphere around all our work, and in certain areas at certain times this campaign atmosphere is critical. With such activities as subscription and fund drives, major meetings and demonstrations, we make a special effort to mobilize all our resources and make all our work focus on that activity. In some cases, we elect a special coordinator and committee to deal with a campaign.

SUMMARY

The organizational norms outlined here are no guarantee of success. It takes experience and insight and commitment to make our work effective. But abandoning these norms is a sure way to dissipate valuable forces and miss favorable opportunities.

Finances

When it comes to finances, the Trotskyist movement gets the short end of the stick. Capitalist parties have millions of dollars handed to them on a platter. The social democrats get hundreds and thousands of dollars from trade union treasuries. Stalinists of both the Moscow and Peking variety get aid in various forms from the bureaucracies in state power.

We are compelled to rely on our own membership and on sympathizers for funds. We are proud of our record as the only financially self-sustaining youth movement in the country. There is a positive side to relying on our comrades financially. Those making the political decisions and those providing the funds are the same. This means that we will not suddenly be deprived of funds because people outside the movement develop differences with us.

To make a revolution requires money. This makes finances a political problem of a high order. The ability to respond quickly to new political opportunities is directly tied to our financial situation -- a good financial situation means more full-timers, leaflets, pamphlets, the expansion of our press, tours, etc., which can enable us to do what must be done to intervene in the growing radicalization. A movement's financial state and the level of contributions of its individual members are important indicators of the dedication of its membership and its seriousness in accomplishing its tasks. Every comrade must be just as committed to giving money to the movement as to giving time and energy.

COMRADES' FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS:

Every new recruit must be educated in our political approach to finances. There are tremendous prejudices about money in our society which inevitably press in on our movement. It should be explained to new comrades how the money will be used to finance the full-timers, the headquarters, the phone, leaflets, etc. If comrades fully understand our politics and how the money is being used to further them, they will respond -- and with enthusiasm.

All comrades have to understand that their financial situation is not their personal business but is the concern of the local. A new comrades attitudes towards finances will be very much shaped by the already established norms in the local. If they are high, the comrade will likely contribute much more than if they are low.

Every comrade is required by the constitution to pay .50¢ dues every month which is sent to the Central Office, by the local. Every local is required to send a pledge of \$3.00 per member per month to the Central Office to sustain the cross-country operation of the movement. This does not mean that each comrade has to pledge exactly this amount -- but that the local is required to raise this much and more per member. Comrades pay their pledges weekly and work them into their personal budget along with the rent and other regular expenses. The norm for working comrades is 10% of their salary. Aside from comrades' regular pledges, the local can make up the

rest of its contribution to the center and cover expenses through various fund-raising projects which will be discussed later.

Comrades who are not in school or not assigned to some full-time political work should attempt to find employment so that they can make a substantial financial contribution. Making a regular financial contribution to the movement is as important as the other contributions that comrades make to the movement. It is not an individual's decision whether to work full-time for the movement, but the movement's decision.

LOCAL FINANCES:

The local's first responsibility is to finance the Central Office. Without the Central Office our movement would not be tied together in any way; there would be no coordination of campaigns and no paper; we would not be a democratic centralist, revolutionary socialist youth organization. Any major new expenditures that any local undertakes, such as getting a headquarters or hiring a full-timer, must first be authorized by the center because the funds of any individual local belong to the movement as a whole and must be allocated with this in mind.

Each local must strike off a leading comrade as the financial secretary. In larger locals there should be a financial committee which will oversee fund raising and financial contributions from comrades. The executive must be continually on top of the finances, and lead in the fund raising activities of the local. Each executive comrade should be an example for the other comrades in the local to follow.

A budget should be submitted to the local regularly for discussion and adoption by the local. This is the best way to maintain financial consciousness in the local. This budget should be motivated in terms of the political

opportunities which are facing the movement. Once the budget has been adopted the financial secretary and the executive are charged with seeing that it is implemented. If there are any changes that have to be made they should be submitted to the local for discussion and a vote. There should be a monthly financial report to the local. In this way the local will control the finances and will feel much more involved in seeing that the financial base of the local is improved.

Because the finances of the movement are greatly dependent on the development of a good understanding among the comrades, the financial secretary must be much more than a record-keeper. The financial secretary is not a bill-collector but a political leader, explaining to comrades the needs of the movement and guiding comrades in making the best possible contribution.

A well-kept record is necessary. The financial secretary must be able to tell the local where the money is coming from and where it is going. The local must not fall into the pattern of scrounging money to meet a series of unplanned expenses. With a clear overall view we can determine which opportunities must be taken advantage of and which opportunities must be let slide.

A well-kept, up-to-date record can help the local keep out of debt. It is easy to slip into debt, particularly to the center. The center comrades are not present to press for payment and so these payments are often the ones let slip. Thus we end up with an informal, unplanned subsidy of a particular local by the rest of the movement, an impermissible situation.

Some pointers to local treasurers:- Don't put off a comrade who offers you money in some inconvenient circumstance. By the time it is convenient for you to take the money, the comrade may no

longer have it. Write down everything immediately. You will forget petty and even major transactions. Have a cash box which locks for petty cash.

Each local should keep a separate account for paper sales. It is important that paper sales money not be used to finance other activities of the local. There can be two bad results: 1. the business manager does not get the money and therefore publication is jeopardized; and 2. the local fails to come to grips with its financial problems because it is getting by through using money from paper sales. A separate account will discourage this practice and help assure that the paper is paid for on a regular basis.

FUND DRIVES:

We cannot get very far as a loose federation of locals. The defence of Quebec political prisoners, Vietnam, women's liberation, and innumerable other questions are cross-country issues. Our adversaries on all these questions are organized on a cross-country basis.

We require full-timers to put out pamphlets, directives and to be readily available to circulate throughout the movement exchanging experiences, knitting our forces together and moving into situations that are favorable for pulling together sympathizers for the formation of locals. Our ability to do this rests on a financially strong center sustained by regular contributions from the locals.

The Central Office is sustained partly by yearly fund drives and partly by regular pledges. The Central Office drive helps to pay the full-timers, to pay for the circulars and bulletins, long distance calls, travel and postage. We also participate in the yearly fund drive of the Young Socialist and pay regularly for the bundles we receive. The Young Socialist fund drive covers the full-time

editorial staff, printing, mailing and promotion.

During a fund drive each local elects a coordinator or committee made up of leading comrades to direct the drive. Each comrade is required to make a pledge based on a norm set down by the Central Office. It is very important that comrades get their contributions in full and on time. A very important part of every drive is going outside of the movement to translate our growing prestige and influence into hard cash, which will enable us to extend our influence still more.

RAISING MONEY OUTSIDE OF THE MOVEMENT:

The growing receptivity to socialist ideas has led to a rapid growth of our movement geographically and in numbers. We are playing a leading if not the leading role in all the major developing movements -- women's liberation, Quebec defense, anti-war. Our ideas and our press are becoming widely circulated. We are becoming recognized leaders of the student movement as can be seen from our election to important positions recently. This support can be transferred into money which can help us to expand tremendously -- to add new full-timers, to improve and expand our press, to put out more leaflets, pamphlets, posters and buttons. Conversely we will not be able to take advantage of these possibilities if we do not turn our prestige into cash.

We utilize the most effective and least time-consuming methods of raising funds. The biggest single source of funds are student council budgets. We can raise thousands of dollars from this source alone, if we handle things right. We have experts who can speak on all the major questions of the current radicalization. We are leading all the major struggles which are going on. We have the ideas and we have the capacity for action.

It is only logical that we should receive large grants from student councils. We have to approach the application for funds very seriously. We have to work out a detailed budget which includes speakers, travel fees and honorariums, costs of literature, costs for publicity material, and so on. This must all be itemized and clearly explicable. We have to approach this very scientifically because it can mean a lot of money for the movement. We should lobby council members to support our application and we should be prepared to make a vigorous defence of our application when it comes up. We may also be able to get speakers fees from various departments in the university.

Another excellent source of funds are sympathetic professors. There are hundreds of them on campuses across the country who are prepared to make continuing pledges and not just one-shot contributions. We will get a lot more if we go to professors with some specific project for which we need money. A kit of leaflets and posters should be taken along to show the breadth of the work of our movement. It is probably best to make appointments with professors rather than trying to find them in their offices which can be a very tedious task. By approaching professors for finances we create sympathizers for our movement and people who can be involved in supporting the various campaigns that we are involved in.

Social functions, besides providing a good time and excellent opportunities to talk to new people, can be a regular source of funds. Comrades should be assigned to plan these as seriously as

we plan any other activities. There must be more than just refreshments and a record player. With small amounts of money and a great deal of creativity we can have very effective decorations, live entertainment, and dramatic presentations.

A party is not very successful if we fail to attract people from outside the movement. It will probably fail both from a social and financial point of view. There is no sense in organizing a social simply to get money from our own comrades pockets. People rarely come to our socials just because they have seen a leaflet. Experience has shown that they come when they are personally invited. So comrades must invite contacts in all their areas of work.

Auctions and used book sales are another source of funds. They can also be a lot of fun and they do not take too much work.

We have had spectacular successes and dismal failures with films. First of all, if a film society or some other group will handle the showing for ten or twenty dollars, have them do it. We have had terrible technical problems even when the projection was handled by experienced comrades. Secondly, the film must be of above average interest. Marat/Sade was very successful when shown in Vancouver, but the Billion Dollar Brain brought only a handful even at .50¢.

Flags, posters, T-shirts, etc. can be profitable. We should develop new designs to respond to interest in new political themes.

Sample Minutes

TORONTO LOCAL MINUTES

FEBRUARY 20, 1971.

Convened: 7:30 p.m.

Chairperson: Terry

Secretary: Kate

Sergeant-at-arms: Joe

Agenda read and approved.

Minutes read and approved.

Attendance: absent with reason:
George, Zane, Lorna, Sylvia.

M/c to seat Donna and Stewart.

1. EXECUTIVE REPORT - Al

The executive recommends that Al give the educational today on the student movement. m/c to adopt.

Anti-war -- We took the proposal for the April 24 actions to the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. The Communist Party, following their position in the U.S., proposed May 2 as a date for actions. This was passed at the meeting. The V.M.C. committee is meeting to discuss the importance of the April 24 actions. There is a possibility of a reversal of the decision. m/c to adopt.

Special Events -- There will be a social tonight with the theme of women in history, to which we hope to bring some contacts from the Abortion campaign. m/c to adopt.

Fund Drive -- The spring fund drive for the Central Office is our main political priority for this

period. The drive extends from Feb. 13 to Mar. 27. The total goal is \$4,000. Recommendation that Brian be coordinator of the fund drive and that we accept quota of \$1,000. m/c to adopt.

Membership -- m/c to release Krytz to go to St. Catherines. m/c to release Brenda and Mitch to work in the LSA/LSO.

2. QUEBEC REPORT - Lois

The sedition charges have been dropped, which is a great victory for the defense movement. The nationalist sentiment in Quebec has been demonstrated by the growth of the support of the defense movement. We are planning a meeting on campus, featuring Manon Leger and Walter Davis of the Emergency Committee. We are the only group doing active defense work. m/c to adopt.

EDUCATIONAL - Al on the student movement.

Break.

3. WOMEN'S LIBERATION - Jacquie

The Feb. 13 actions around the abortion question were a success. They exposed the Canadian government as being totally unresponsive to the needs of Canadian women. Our campus and high school work needs to be strengthened. m/c to adopt.

4. CAMPUS REPORT - Alice

At the University of Toronto, the parity committee made some proposals -- 100 faculty, 100 students, 27 teaching assistants and 27 administrators. There will be a mass meeting on Friday to rat-

ify these proposals. We will present a minority report calling for the replacement of administration by support staff. m/c to adopt.

5. SALES REPORT - Don

Comrades must be more conscious of the political importance of selling the paper. Our quota

for this month is 600. m/c to adopt.

6. NEW BUSINESS - Important forum on Quebec this Friday, with Manon Léger.

Calendar

Adjournment: 9:50 p.m.

Appendix II

Literature Sales

Next to the Young Socialist and the Labor Challenge, our literature is the best way of reaching people with our ideas on a broad range of topics. That's why we try to set up literature tables wherever we go -- on campus, in the high schools, at our forums, at other public meetings, everywhere.

The following is to serve as a guide to comrades in setting up well-equipped, well-run literature tables. It consists of a sample literature order, followed by a few suggestions on setting up an efficient literature sales operation.

The sample order below provides a very wide selection of literature, at a cost to locals or members-at-large of \$72.91, by only ordering a small number of copies of most titles. A new local placing this order with Crescent Publications would not run the risk of going deeply in debt to Crescent, but would be able to tell very quickly which titles were selling and should be re-ordered in greater quantity. To place this order, simply write to Crescent Publications (334 Queen St. W., Toronto 133) requesting the order, and Crescent will send you the material. The total sales value of all the titles is \$116.95. You are required to return 60% of this cost, or \$72.91.

It is self-evident that comrades should keep up a healthy credit rating with Crescent if they are to expect to be able to order more literature. So get the 60% paid within the required 30 days.

A FEW HELPFUL HINTS ON SETTING UP LITERATURE TABLES:

First of all you need a table ...a big one, or two if possible; there are a lot of titles, so you'll need lots of space. Next, you must make the table stand out, especially if there are other tables around. We've got to have everyone's eyes drawn to us. That means plastering up a flashy YS banner high up behind the table. Then, there are YS posters, anti-war or women's liberation posters, picture posters of Lenin, Trotsky, Che, etc., etc., that can be hung around the table-edge and nearby walls.

Next comes the laying out of the literature. Here, make sure that all the titles are fully visible. Some books and pamphlets have their titles placed at the top, others at the bottom, and still others in the centre; the literature should be layed out accordingly.

The rest is left up to your imagination. The Ottawa campus comrades used to make up an attractive poster display every oth-

er day: in this way there was always something different at the table to catch peoples' eyes.

As well as the literature, the covers of Young Socialist, Liberation, and Labor Challenge should be opened out and prominently displayed. They should be the first item of the table to catch the eye. We should ask everyone if they've seen the latest issues of each paper. In addition, the table should have a pitch for subs.

In addition to Canadian publications, we should also have available the various publications of the Trotskyist movement -- The Militant, Intercontinental Press, International Socialist Review. These are our publications, they're attractive, and we should be promoting them as well.

Finally, the literature table should be equipped with a mailing list for any person who may be interested in receiving information about the YS or joining -- something along the lines of:--
NAME..... ADDRESS.....PHONE.....
I WISH TO BE ON THE MAILING LIST..
..I WISH TO JOIN THE YS.

HOW TO CONDUCT OURSELVES AT LITERATURE TABLES:

First of all, try to have at least two people (comrades AND/OR contacts) at every literature table if possible. While one person supervises sales at the table itself, the other (s) circulate nearby, hawking the Young Socialist and Labor Challenge and draw interested people over to talk with us at the table, have a look at our literature, and perhaps sign up on our mailing list.

As for conduct at the table itself: in no way should comrades be found buried in some pamphlet or book. That's the surest way to seem uninterested in what you have to sell. To sell effectively, you have to play the role of a salesperson. Look attentive, be attentive. You're doing a job.

When someone drops by, make an effort to catch their attention right away. Ask them if they've seen the latest Young Socialist; find out what they're interested in; try to engage them in a conversation. Literature table work is contact work and requires concentrated time and effort.

Of course, while we try to talk with people, we have to know where to draw the line. Some characters simply want to argue for the hell of it or to bait you. As a general rule, if you don't get anywhere within a couple of minutes, it's better to drop the conversation and try to sell them an appropriate pamphlet if at all possible. Usually, if a person is interested, they'll indicate it by buying a paper or signing up on the mailing list for further information.

SAMPLE LITERATURE ORDER

| <u>NUMBER</u> | <u>TITLE AND AUTHOR</u> | <u>PRICE</u> <u>(EACH)</u> |
|------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| <u>Canadian Titles</u> | | |
| 10 | The Coming Canadian Revolution (Dowson) | .05 |
| 5 | Canada-U.S. Relations (LSA/LSO) | .30 |
| 2 | The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions (Dowson) | .25 |
| 5 | Red Power In Canada (Fidler) | .35 |
| 10 | U.S. Aggression in Vietnam and Canada's Complicity (Young) | .25 |
| 10 | The Status of Women in Canada (LSA/LSO) | .10 |
| 10 | For an Independent and Socialist Quebec (LSA/LSO) | .35 |
| 5 | Quebec Nationalism: Its Roots and Meaning (Young) | .30 |
| 5 | Free Quebec Political Prisoners (from Labor Challenge) | .25 |
| 2 | Vive le Quebec Libre (LSA/LSO) | .25 |

The following are French-language titles which should be ordered as they are important to have on our

literature tables. They are not included in the price of the over-all order.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Vive Le Québec Independent et Socialist | .50 |
| La Libération du Québec | .50 |
| Le Parti Révolutionnaire | .30 |
| L'Actualité du Manifeste Communiste | .15 |
| Stratégie et Organisation de la Jeunesse Révolutionnaire | .35 |
| Socialisme et Libération de la Femme | .25 |
| Le Statut de la Femme du Canada | .05 |
| Le Parti Ouvrier | .30 |
| La Révolution Russe | .30 |

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

| | |
|---|------|
| 6 Problems of Women's Liberation (Reed) | 1.75 |
| 5 In Defense of the Women's Movement (Miller et al) | .30 |
| 5 Politics of Women's Liberation (Waters) | .30 |
| 3 Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation (Novack) | .30 |
| 5 Sisterhood is Powerful (Stone) | .30 |
| 5 The Family: Revolutionary or Oppressive Force (Lund) | .30 |
| 5 Leon Trotsky on Women and the Family | .90 |

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY TODAY

| | |
|--|-----|
| 10 How to Make a Revolution in the U.S. (Camejo) | .30 |
| 5 The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the tasks of the Fourth International (YSA) | .50 |
| 5 Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today (from <u>The Militant</u>) | .60 |
| 1 What Policy for Revolutionists -- Marxism vs Ultra-leftism (Cannon and Munis) | .90 |
| 10 Liberalism, Ultra-leftism or Mass Action (Camejo) | .30 |
| 3 Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution (Mandel) | .60 |
| 5 Marxism vs Neo-Anarchist Terrorism (Novack) | .30 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| 1 The Revolution Betrayed (Trotsky) | 3.55 |
| 2 Maoism in the U.S. (Waters) | .60 |

MARXIST THEORY

| | |
|---|------|
| 3 An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory (Mandel) | 1.20 |
| 3 The Communist Manifesto (Marx and Engels) | .90 |
| 3 Socialism on Trial (Cannon) | 1.80 |
| 2 The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International (Trotsky) | .60 |
| 1 The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class (Novack and Mandel) | .80 |
| 1 Who Will Change the World? | .50 |
| 2 The Marxist Theory of the State (Mandel) | .60 |
| 1 Introduction to the Logic of Marxism (Novack) | 1.80 |
| 2 The Long View of History (Novack) | .60 |
| 1 The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects (Trotsky) | 2.95 |
| 2 The Marxist Theory of Alienation (Mandel and Novack) | 1.15 |
| 2 The Essential Works of Lenin | 1.65 |

ARAB REVOLUTION

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5 Zionism and the Arab Revolution (Buch) | .40 |
| 5 Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis (Buch) | .50 |
| 2 Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question | .60 |
| 5 The Truth about Israel and Zionism (Weinstock and Rothschild) | .30 |

VIETNAM AND COLONIAL REVOLUTION

| | |
|---|------|
| 2 On Vietnam and World Revolution (Guevara) | .30 |
| 5 War and Revolution in Vietnam (Jenness) | .40 |
| 1 Cuba for Beginners (Rius) | 2.35 |

NATIONAL STRUGGLES IN THE U.S.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| 2 Black Nationalism and | .60 |
|-------------------------|-----|

| | | |
|---|--|------|
| | Socialism (Breitman and Novack) | |
| 2 | Malcolm X on Afro-American History | .90 |
| 1 | By Any Means Necessary (Malcolm X) | 2.35 |
| 2 | Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas (Breitman) | .40 |
| 2 | How a Minority Can Change Society (Breitman) | .40 |
| 1 | Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination | 1.15 |

MISCELLANEOUS

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| 2 | Fascism: What It Is and | |
|---|-------------------------|--|

| | | |
|---|---|------|
| | How to Fight It (Trotsky) | .60 |
| 2 | Genocide Against the Indians (Novack) | .60 |
| 1 | Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions | 1.15 |
| 2 | The "Population Explosion" (Hansen) | .80 |
| 1 | Their Morals and Ours (Trotsky) | 1.15 |
| 5 | Socialism and Man (Guevara) | .40 |
| 2 | The Age of Permanent Revolution (Trotsky) | .95 |

TOTAL COST OF ALL TITLES \$116.95

COST AFTER 40% DISCOUNT 72.91

Appendix III

Introductory Classes

The following is designed as an outline to guide locals in preparing introductory classes. We simply can't allow the situation to develop where new comrades do not immediately begin assimilating the political theory, program and organizational concepts of the movement they have joined. And this assimilation can't be a rush job.

That is why a month-long series of four classes is being recommended. It would allow comrades the time to read the required material, think it over, and thoroughly discuss it, along with any questions they may have.

These classes must be taken very seriously; they should be seen as a comrade's first assignment, as their first responsibility upon joining the YS/LJS. The class series could be repeated as often as necessary, depending on the rate of recruitment. The classes should aim at being of an exclusive character, for new comrades alone. New members are more apt to raise their doubts and questions openly, when not confronted by a host of

already thoroughly committed and experienced comrades. One relatively experienced (and eager) comrade should be assigned to lead each class (or perhaps all of them). This comrade should be granted adequate time to properly prepare the class, and not be swamped in the meantime by other responsibilities.

The proposed reading material around which the classes would be built covers a wide range of ideas and raises all sorts of questions. This is so the classes can be of a wide-open, free-wheeling character, with maximum time allowed for new comrades to raise and thoroughly discuss all their questions and criticisms. The class leaders' presentations should therefore be brief introductions to discussion rather than dry and lengthy lectures.

CLASSES ONE & TWO: the politics of our movement, based on James P. Cannon's Socialism on Trial. Probably better than any other, this book covers the most important aspects of Marxist theory, strategy and tactics as

applied to today's politics in a most concise and popular way. As an exciting court case and an eloquent example of how revolutionary socialists defend themselves, new comrades will find this book both enlightening and exciting reading. And the price is not too steep. Copies may be ordered from Crescent Publications for only \$1.08 in bundles of five or more. Copies can also be shared around.

Comrades will probably find two classes necessary because of the range of ideas covered in the book.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING : The Communist Manifesto, How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.

ADDITIONAL READING TO ASSIST CLASS LEADERS:

In Defense of October - Trotsky
Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trials - Cannon

Mandel: Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory.

CLASS THREE: The third class would take up the organizational character of the YS/LJS. This doesn't mean simply dealing with "democratic centralism" in the abstract, although the democratic centralist character of our movement should of course be explained and discussed. But the class should go further into the particulars of how and why the movement is structured the way it is: our constitution; what local meetings are for; why we have chairpersons; what the role of the executive is; how we determine our political strategy; what conventions are for; finances; etc. New comrades, alienated by the authoritarian nature of the system, come into the movement with natural suspicions of structure, organization, and leadership. In this third class, they should be encouraged to discuss all the various aspects of the movement's organizational character. Reading for this class is Organizing the YS/LJS.

ADDITIONAL READING TO ASSIST CLASS LEADER: Building the Revolutionary Party in Canada-LSA/LSO Convention Resolution. The Organizational Character of the LSA/LSO.

CLASS FOUR: our transitional program. While this class should clarify the general concept of the transitional program as opposed to the reformist and ultra-left approaches, it should centre on the specific strategy and program outlined in our brochure, Young Socialists' Program for Student Action for a New Society. New comrades, especially student youth, will find the brochure most relevant. It lends itself to a lively discussion around our mass action strategy and our strategy for a red university, and around our various demands in the areas of education, women's liberation, national self-determination.

Comrades may find it too difficult to compress all discussion on our transitional program into one class, and may therefore find it necessary to break it down into two classes by adding a fifth.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:--
Ten Years of the YS/LJS-YSF, February 1970. The Death Agony of Capitalism and the tasks of the Fourth International.

ADDITIONAL READING TO AID CLASS LEADER:- Liberalism, Ultra-leftism and Mass Action - Peter Camejo. Discussions with Leon Trotsky on the Transitional Program - SWP Education for Socialists bulletin.

Appendix IV

Addresses

YOUNG SOCIALISTS LIGUE DES JEUNES
SOCIALISTES CENTRAL OFFICE
LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION LIGUE
SOCIALISTE OUVRIERE CENTRAL OFFICE
334 Queen Street West, Toronto
Ontario.

Every comrade should subscribe to
and read regularly at least the
following publications:

YOUNG SOCIALIST. Box 517, Station A,
Toronto. \$1.00 for eight issues.
published monthly.

LABOR CHALLENGE. Box 5595, Station
A, Toronto. \$3.00 a year. published
every other week.

LIBERATION. Boite 133, Succ 'C,
Montreal.

In addition, every local should
subscribe to the following. A file
of these should be kept available
for comrades preparing educational
etc.

THE MILITANT. 14 Charles Lane, New
York, N.Y. 10014. Weekly revolution-
ary socialist newspaper. \$6.00
(U.S.) per year.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ORGANIZER. P.O.
Box 471, Cooper Station, New York,
N.Y. 10003. Bi-weekly action publi-
cation of the Young Socialist
Alliance, our co-thinkers in the
United States. \$10.00 (U.S.) per
year.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.
10014. Monthly theoretical magazine
\$5.00 (U.S.) per year.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS. P.O. Box
116, Village Post Office Station,
New York, N.Y. 10014. Weekly
international newsmagazine. \$7.50
for 26 issues. airmail rates on
request.

CRESCENT PUBLICATIONS. 334 Queen
Street West, Toronto 133, Ont.
Crescent carries all Pathfinder
and Monthly Review books from the
United States as well as Canadian
revolutionary socialist pamphlets.
A catalog will be sent on request.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 14
Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
Both the Education Department and
the Tape Library have useful mater-
ial.

Appendix V

Essential Reading

THE COMING CANADIAN REVOLUTION, by
Ross Dowson, 7 pages, \$.05. Why
Canada is headed for a socialist
revolution, what it will be like,
and just what a new workers'
government will do to change our
society.

HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION IN THE
U.S., by Peter Camejo, 23 pages,

30¢. A popular, entertaining look
at what exactly is wrong in the
U.S.; how the tiny ruling class
manages to maintain its power; why
American workers can be expected
to overthrow it; and how it can
be done.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by James P.
Cannon, 104 pages, \$1.80. Perhaps

the best general introduction to Marxist theory on a whole variety of questions: the laws of capitalist development, the question of war, of fascism, the coming revolution, the role of violence, the workers' state, the Russian Revolution, internationalism, and many others.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, by Marx and Engels, introduction by Leon Trotsky, 72 pages, 90¢. Most famous of Marxist works, the Manifesto gives a broad, compact review of class struggles from ancient society right up to present times, and discusses the aims and policy of revolutionary socialists on a wide variety of questions still highly relevant today.

THE LONG VIEW OF HISTORY, by G. Novack, 64 pages, 60¢. A Marxist interpretation of history. Traces the main stages of history, in nature and in society, from the first appearance of life on earth right up to present times. A second section examines the main features and events of American history, bringing to light its profoundly revolutionary character.

INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY, by E. Mandel, 78 pages, \$1.20. A Marxist analysis of what makes capitalism tick. Examines the fundamentals: commodities, money, labor, capital, etc., and takes a look at the influence of recent economic trends on the capitalist system.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOGIC OF MARXISM, by George Novack, 141 pages, \$1.80. A thorough yet popular examination of the development of the science of thought, dealing with formal logic, dialectics and Marx's dialectical materialist method.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT AND SOCIALIST QUEBEC, resolution adopted by 1970 convention of the LSA/LSO, 32 pages, .35¢. Outlines the Trotskyist position on the national struggle in Quebec. Makes the case for why revolutionaries should

support the independence of Quebec and shows how independence is only possible through a socialist revolution.

CANADA-US RELATIONS - a socialist viewpoint, a compilation including a statement of the LSA/LSO adopted by the 1968 convention, 19 pages, 30¢. This pamphlet deals with all points of view on the question of the Americanization of the Canadian economy and universities, and presents a socialist perspective on the question.

THE POWER AND DILEMMA OF THE TRADE UNIONS, by Ross Dowson, 15 pages, 25¢. A veteran socialist and unionist takes a long look at the problems of the Canadian labor movement and suggests the road forward for labor.

RED POWER IN CANADA, by Dick Fidler, 15 pages, 35¢. Canada's native population has declared war on racism, poverty and exploitation raising the slogan of "Red Power". This pamphlet describes the conditions of the Indians, the development of the Red Power movement in Canada, and the program of this rising movement.

U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM AND CANADA'S COMPLICITY, by Joe Young, 13 pages, 25¢. The Pentagon revelations revealed years before the New York Times "discovered" them. The detailed account -- not found in the Pentagon study -- of how Canada lied to, spied and profited on the Vietnamese, while pretending to be a "peacemaker".

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADA, brief submitted to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, by the LSA/LSO, 15 pages, 10¢. One of the first declarations of the recent rise of the struggle for Women's Liberation, this pamphlet is essential reading for anyone who wants to know the source of women's discontent and the solution to the problems of women in society.

QUEBEC NATIONALISM: ITS ROOTS AND

MEANING, by Art Young, 23 pages, 30¢. A basic introduction to the rise of the nationalist struggle in Quebec dealing with a history of the struggle, the language question, why Quebec is a nation, the oppression of the Quebecois and related questions.

FREE QUEBEC POLITICAL PRISONERS, reprinted from Labor Challenge, 23 pages, 25¢. Deals with the War Measures Act crisis which shook Canada in October of 1970. Takes up the reasons for the War Measures Act, the role of the FLQ and the Parti Quebecois, the roots of the crisis and the struggle to free the political prisoners.

THE WORLD-WIDE YOUTH RADICALIZATION AND THE TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Presented by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International to the 1969 World Congress. 29 pages, 50¢. An outline of the Trotskyist analysis of the youth radicalization, containing a program of democratic and transitional demands for the student movement, and presenting a socialist strategy for the youth revolt.

VIVE LE QUEBEC LIBRE, statement of the LSA/LSO 1968 convention, 24 pages, 25¢. No political or social issue has aroused as much interest and concern from coast to coast as Quebec. This pamphlet presents a socialist viewpoint on the struggle for self-determination in Quebec.

BLACK POWER IN THE CARIBBEAN - The 1970 Upsurge in Trinidad, by Tony Thomas and John Riddell, 15 pages, 30¢. Of particular interest in this pamphlet is an article by John Riddell dealing with "Canadian Imperialism in the West Indies." The West Indies is one of the major areas of foreign investment by Canadian capitalists.

P.O. Box 517,
Station A, Toronto
Sept. 18, 1971

To all Young Socialist supporters

re: sending material to the Young Socialist

Dear comrades,

This circular is to aid in preparing material for the Young Socialist.

It is essential that all areas and regions participate in writing and sending material to the paper. Our aim is to become the leadership of the student movement. It is therefore crucial that the YS become the voice of the student movement across the country and be on top of all developments. The YS is already the only cross-country student newspaper. We are in a good position to use it as an organizer and agitator to lead the movement forward. This means that we must have accurate reporting on all developments across the country as soon as they occur.

This material is not only useful for the YS, which can report on new developments, make overall assessments and give direction to the movement. It will also mean that we can collect an overall printed record of the student movement. This information will put us in a position to intervene quickly and effectively.

Local areas should keep complete files as well as sending material to the YS.

The local executive should take responsibility for sending in all the relevant information and reports. A leading comrade should be assigned to correspond with the YS. This comrade need not do all the writing or work but should make sure that it gets done.

Either the executive or a comrade assigned to regional organizing should be responsible for getting information and reports from areas which have no local. We want to intervene in these areas with the paper whenever possible and report and assess these struggles in order to present a comprehensive view of the student movement.

The attached material provides a basic guide for preparing articles and information for the paper.

We are particularly interested in getting short items for the "Storm Warnings" column.

The deadline for the next issue (October) is Sept 27.

Comradely,

Richard Thompson

Preparing Articles for YS

A. Sources of Material

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

Newspaper items are important because as well as containing facts about a struggle they also show its impact on the whole community. They provide a useful history and a source of quotable material. Often they are a source of information about the views of the administration, school boards and the ruling class which might be difficult to obtain elsewhere.

Newspaper clippings are easily accessible from local papers and campus papers. Since local papers often have coverage that doesn't get into the national news they should be sent to the paper. This should include editorials as well as news items. The date, page number and name of the paper should be indicated.

DOCUMENTS OF THE STRUGGLE

This includes leaflets, press statements, material from other tendencies, administration or school board statements and any other documents of the struggle. This raw material gives a flavour of the struggle and is essential documentation for local files or an article for the paper.

Dates should be attached to each document (most leaflets, for example, don't usually have dates and it is hard to try and remember the date later on). Sometimes additional information should also be indicated (such as how many leaflets were distributed and where).

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

This includes earlier documents or articles, information and statistics about the situation (e.g. school board budgets in the case of a walkout over cutbacks), and the positions and attitudes of the various forces involved in the struggle.

This information can show exactly what the situation is and why the demands are being raised. It can also show the broader context of the struggle and draw out some of its implications.

PHOTOS

It is very important to send in photos of actions. There are three ways of getting them: to take them yourself, to clip them from local papers, or to go to the campus or local papers and get the original. It is best to get the original rather than a clipping.

Each picture that is sent in should clearly indicate what it is a picture of, who is in it and who took it. It should also have the date clearly marked.

A comrade should be assigned to take pictures at every important action or meeting. If there is no comrade with experience in photography an instamatic camera can take pictures of reasonable quality at minimum expense.

If you send in undeveloped film it should include an itemized list of all pictures.

INTERVIEWS

Interviews can be an effective way of reporting. They give a flavour of the struggle and have a personal interest. They can present a view of the struggle from its leaders and main activists.

If you do an interview you should explain who you are and what the interview is to be used for.

To be effective the interview should say who the person being interviewed is and then focus on one or two key political points. It is usually best to stay away from subjects that are unclear or to raise political disagreements (unless that is the purpose of the interview). The basic questions should be worked out ahead of time, before the interview.

B. Writing an Article

All articles submitted to the paper should be typewritten, triple-spaced with sixty characters per line. Unless there are exceptional circumstances articles should not be longer than two or three pages. They should be sent in right away, together with pictures.

Articles should be factual reports of a particular meeting, demonstration or upsurge. They should tell what happened, where, when and why it is important. It is often useful to include some background material and to quote from key documents or leaders of the struggle. Everything should be carefully explained since many readers will be unfamiliar with the situation.

We want reports on all of the main activities in the campaigns (abortion and Vietnam conferences, demonstrations, etc.) and particularly reports on the activities of the YS. As well as these there should be reports on any major actions by youth in your area.

**WITHDRAW U.S.
TROOPS!**

**VIET
NAM**

**END
CANADIAN
COMPLICITY!**

NOVEMBER 11/12

CANADIAN STUDENT

DAYS OF

PROTEST

Dennis 1971 (L. Roman)

What we want is to call for concrete demands and mobilize people to win them. (Peter Camejo, Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action)

During the last Convention in Montreal I decided that the central leadership, as it was to be constituted, would not be able to build a collective leadership. I talked to some comrades extensively about this at the convention. During the plenum immediately following the convention I opposed the slate of nominations by running for the post of Executive Secretary.

Since then I ^{have} remained opposed to the composition of the Bureau.

My next important experience, the one that convinced me to form a tendency to challenge the policy and leadership of the Y.S., was the recent Y.S. plenum.

Away from the Mass Action Orientation

Through discussions at the plenum I learned, with surprise, that the Young Socialists was experiencing a new turn. What is it? When did it take place? Where is the documentation? I wondered.

The turn was explained this way: The Young Socialists must move out dramatically in its own name; it must demonstrate against the injustices of this society, pollution, unemployment, etc., in striking actions that will attract enraged youth; and to accomplish this, it does not necessarily have to put forward transitional demands, even any concrete demands, to gain publicity, etc.

According to some comrades the turn began at the youth convention at Christmas. If it did many comrades were not aware of it. Although a few comrades discussed it, the convention never voted on it. And where has this turn been formulated on paper so that comrades can study it? I know of no place. I learned of the turn from comrades in the ISA Political Committee.

The lack of statements on the turn makes criticism of it very difficult. I can only approximate the justification for it. Hopefully the publication of this contribution and subsequent rebuttals can clarify the positions.

Some of my statements could be misrepresentations. I do not apologize; I condemn the reason for them--- the absence of documentation and discussion about this re-orientation. Before attempting to list some justifications for this turn, I will describe two actions, encompassed by the turn, that will vividly show comrades what is happening.

1. Recently in Toronto comrades demonstrated against the opening of Ontario Place. Our slogans were "Bullshit" and "We Want Jobs". "Bullshit" describes the uselessness of building that extravagant centennial project. "We Want Jobs" attempts to formulate a challenge to the government to provide jobs to the millions of unemployed youth, instead of erecting showplaces. The slogans are confusing because the construction of the complex provided jobs. Demanding jobs without showing how they can be provided is abstract. The demands resort to vulgarity.

The other example, more outrageous, was staged by some Vancouver women comrades. Incensed by a male chauvinist sign on a store, they decided to paste a banner on the store saying "This sign degrades women". Late in the night they crept up to the store, put the banner up, were caught by the police, and jailed. Later they were released without charges. This action is clearly adventuristic. It posed no demands, reached no one but the police, and was carried out without the approval of the Y.S. local. It is wholly alien to the traditions of Trotskyism.

The Ontario Place demonstration was planned by the leadership in Toronto. It obviously was supported by the central leadership in the Y.S. The second example was extensively cited in the last plenum as an example of a "neat" action of the Y.S. in its women's liberation activity.

I will list the justifications for the turn as I heard them:
action

1. The turn does not contradict the mass strategy. Our main emphasis remains on building mass actions around transitional demands, or against repression. The tactics employed in the turn, although they may be by themselves contradictory to the mass action perspective, are correct in the context of the overall mass action strategy. The turn allows us to put the Y.S. forth more boldly, receive more

publicity, and recruit more youth.

2. Our main task, the theme of the last convention, is to build the Y.S. By employing the turn which will recruit youth to the movement, the Y.S. will be better able to build the mass movements.

3. Although the tactics employed by this turn could lead to ultra-leftism, the objective political conditions in English Canada will dampen this tendency. The objective conditions are;

a. The dampening effect on ultra-leftism exerted by the mass labor party, the NDP.

b. The absence of any cross-Canada ultra-left organization which will promote ultra-leftism.

4. The Y.S. must sharply identify itself as the revolutionary youth organization in order to distinguish itself from the NDP which radical youth identify with parliamentarism.

5. The danger of deterioration of the Y.S. will be offset by comrades themselves by virtue of their understanding of the Trotskyist program.

6. The Young Socialists is a youth movement. It has to relate to youth where they are at, do things they want to do.

7. Sometimes the Y.S. will make mistakes, but the comrades have to learn by their mistakes.

Each one of these justifications is incorrect. The following seven points refute them in order;

1. Any tactic, no matter how impressive, is wrong if it contradicts the overall strategy. This is a basic relationship between strategy and tactics. The few comrades pasting a banner on a store window in the early hours of the morning were engaging in adventurism and cutting across the mass action strategy.

2. This assumes that any tactic that recruits members to the Y.S. is correct, even if the tactic is contradictory to the mass action strategy. We called this sectarianism at one time.

3. I find this reason hard to take seriously. It contradicts the Fourth International's document which points out the danger of ultra-leftism in the student movement on a world scale. The objective conditions on the campuses and in the high-schools cause ultra-leftism. Ultra-left organizations are the result.

During the last student upsurge, approximately two years ago, the NDP did not stop the emergence of ultra-leftism. Furthermore the NDP is not a major factor in student politics. The thrust of the student movement is essentially the same in Canada as in the U.S. toward student-faculty-staff control in the red university. On the campuses and in the high schools the NDP does not play a significant role. Even if it was a major factor we cannot assume that it would dampen ultra-leftism.

In the present upsurge ultra-leftism and sectarianism have been encountered. CPL's intervention in the high school walkouts in Toronto is an example.

Instead of arming comrades to fight ultra-leftism, the turn suggests that comrades do what the ultra-leftists do. This is a good way to recruit ultra-leftists, but not to build a leninist youth movement.

4. For at least two years we have had little difficulty distinguishing ourselves from the NDP in most areas. Even if distinguishing the YS from the NDP was a problem

in the student movement, using incorrect tactics to rectify the problem would be wrong.

5 This argument would not even be adequate if we assume that the Y.S. is not deteriorating politically. I maintain that the Y.S. is deteriorating politically.

6 Some things youth are doing or would enjoy doing are politically incorrect.

7 This turn is not an isolated mistake that can be overlooked. It is pulling the Y.S. away from Trotskyism.

Collapse of the YS Leadership

Why has this turn taken place? There are at least five reasons.

- 1 The failure to build a collective leadership in the Y.S. which is able to direct the movement in its intervention in the mass movement, especially the student movement. This failure is largely the responsibility of the central YS leadership led by the Bureau
- 2 The exclusive and adventuristic character of the present central leadership led by the Bureau
- 3 The pressure of the current radicalization combined with the pressure of ultra-leftism in Canada and on a world scale.
- 4 The support given by leading LSA comrades to the turn.
- 5 The lack of resources in the movement.

Each of these points needs to be motivated and amplified. Hopefully further discussions and documentation will clarify the reasons in comrades' minds. I will expand on some of the points.

1. At the beginning of the last plenum comrades were asking some basic questions; for instance, "Does a collective leadership exist?"

The reply to the claim that we haven't a collective leadership has been: Although the present central leadership has its difficulties, it is the best we have; the main problem is that we haven't the resources to do any better, the mere shifting of personnel is a mistaken, mechanistic concept; further recruitment and development of comrades will solve the problem of leadership.

Some comrades, in attempting to explain the particular problems of leadership in the YS, have evoked the world crisis of leadership as a cause. What is happening in the YS is natural, they say.

I maintain that the problems of leadership in the YS at present are not the problems encountered through the forward moving development of leadership. The problems result from the collapse and bankruptcy of the YS leadership. There are at least three indications of this:

- a. the most significant indication is that the EC has not been conscious that this new orientation is a break with Trotskyism.
- b. significant numbers of comrades on the EC do not consider themselves part of the leadership in any real sense.
- c. the overall level of political sophistication of the EC is declining. This discussion at the plenum was hardly up to the level at the convention. The professionalism of the comrades, their attentiveness, punctuality, etc. was abysmal.

2. The development of an exclusive leadership is shown in at least two ways:
 - a. the promotion, which is not based on experience or ability, of some comrades, while others, very often with more experience, are not given the opportunities.
 - b. the widespread estrangement of a range of comrades on the EC (and for that matter, comrades not on the EC) from the Bureau. This estrangement takes various forms and is at various stages. It was more noticeable at the last plenum than

ever before.

The central leadership, headed by the Bureau, partly because of its exclusiveness, has not been able to effectively lead the YS's intervention in the mass movements and has resorted to adventurism. It is also the main cause of the collapse of the YS leadership.

The reason given in the past for keeping the central leadership is: Granted the comrades have their problems, we can discuss that sometime. Nevertheless they are best able to lead the YS at this time; we need them until another leadership replaces them.

I have been waiting. I am confident that another leadership will soon be built. It will come from the tendency.

3.and4. These points are largely self-explanatory.

5. The smallness of the movement's resources and the thinness of its cadre are problems hindering the building of the YS leadership. Like the crisis of leadership on a world scale they are long term. They should not stop us from solving the current leadership problem in the YS which is immediately before us.

Summary

1. A turn--reorientation--has occurred without documentation or meaningful discussion.
2. This turn is moving the YS away from Trotskyism and is tending to assume an adventuristic character.
3. The main cause of this turn is the exclusiveness and adventuristic nature of the YS central leadership, headed by the Bureau.

The turn is not confined to adventurism. The following points take up some other aspects of the turn. I will comment briefly on some of them. More discussion is needed on all of them.

1. The Waterloo conference--this conference was planned for five months before it is scheduled to begin, has a full-timer working on it, and will require a fund drive to raise the thousands of dollars needed to finance it. It is the biggest single activity that the movement has ever attempted; yet as it was originally conceived, it is essentially inward oriented, meant only to build the Young Socialists. It seems sectarian to me.

2. The lax attitude towards unemployment of comrades.

3. The idea that the movement has to begin to be a vehicle for solving comrades' personal problems--this concept was virtually endorsed by the YS plenum. It is alien to Trotskyism.

4. The July 1 anti-confederation demonstration--the movement is calling for a united front to organize a mass rally for independence. But where are the concrete demands? The mass action strategy does not just mean having masses on the streets. They should be demanding something concrete, not something abstract like independence. The mass action strategy applies to all tactics, not just to most tactics. This action seems to be a mistaken pragmatic attempt to unite the nationalist left, and to recruit to the movement.

Page 6

5. The cross-Canada research into the history of the labor movement and the publication of the results--I fail to see how this relates to our work in the mass movements or why the YS would want to publish the scattered fragments of information that we will be able to uncover. We are not a university research team.

(Found in York U. papers)

THE ALTERNATIVE YOUNG SOCIALISTS CAMPAIGN FOR ABIE WEISFELD

Many students are disappointed in the operation of the Federation of Students this past year because they expected more than a high school type council, capable of dealing with their problems and the major issues.

This campaign raises the alternative of a radical who is committed to action and responsible to an organization capable of carrying out this programme on a cross-Canada basis.

What are the issues:

END WAR RESEARCH ON CAMPUS: By the Amchitka actions carried out on campus this fall, the campus has demonstrated its desire to dissociate itself from the American military complex. This campus as well as 12 others in Canada are implicated in the U. S. military, as well as the war in Vietnam by allowing such research on campus. At the Feb. 5-6 Vietnam Mobilization Committee conference the Federation should participate in planning a campaign to end our complicity.

JOBS FOR ALL: Students and the general population are becoming more desperate over the lack of jobs. The Federation must organize a broad campaign to make the government plan their economic policy to create jobs and not protect the profits of industry.

STUDENT FACULTY CONTROL OF THE UNIVERSITY: Student-faculty parity control was the basis of a student strike at Waterloo Lutheran last year. The ongoing struggle to gain control over our institution must be co-ordinated by the Federation involving the students.

SUPPORT THE WOMAN'S LIBERATION CAMPAIGN FOR ABORTION LAW REPEAL: The right of woman to determine whether or not she will carry through her pregnancy must be granted by the government and fought for by the Federation.

HOMOPHILE RIGHTS: The Federation must support every effort of the Gay Liberation Movement and gays to end the discrimination against them.

As you can see, there is a great deal to do and the best way to start is to vote for

ABIE WEISFELD
YOUNG SOCIALIST CANDIDATE

FOR A VOTE THAT COUNTS VOTE WEDNESDAY FEB. 2, 1972

Feb. 21 '72
YS/LJS C.O.
334 Queen St W
Toronto Ont

HIGH SCHOOL ABORTION WORK

To all locals and members-at-large
Attention womens liberation coordinators

Dear Comrades,

At the recent plenum of the Executive Council we outlined the objectives for the abortion campaign in the high schools. We said that we wanted to "break the silence" on the issue of abortion in the high schools, forming high school abortion groups in the schools and across the city focusing their activity on the petition campaign.

Reports have just begun to come in indicating that the campaign is just getting underway. For example in Harbord Collegiate, Toronto, following an after school meeting for an abortion speaker a group of women are forming an abortion group and planning a number of activities. In Hamilton a high school woman comrade has begun circulating the repeal petition and also a petition to allow a coalition speaker into the school.

The primary task now is to organize and build in the high schools the Cross-Canada Abortion Conference. We want to have representation from every area at this conference. This means that we must begin now and work with the city coalitions to assure this. The biggest problem in getting students to this conference will be money-- for this reason we have to find organizations and individuals who are willing to sponsor students to go to the conference. The conference is very important to unifying the abortion movement and this will be the first opportunity for high school activists to get together and discuss the campaign. This conference will be the key to future organizing of the high school campaign. It is important that we move right away to orient our high school work to it.

Following are some suggestions for moving the campaign in your area:

1. organize a meeting in the school and invite a coalition speaker to speak on abortion and the conference
2. draw together some activists and begin to plan getting sponsors to get women to the conference
3. endorsement should be gotten from high school councils and groups-- money too
4. petition tables should be set up-- this might lead to battles with the administration over the right to circulate the petition
5. leaflets explaining the abortion issue and announcing the conference could be distributed with the petitions in other schools
6. conference posters should be put up and articles written in underground newspapers

Let's hear from you,

Comradely, *Linda*

Linda Blackwood, Cross-country
Womens Liberation Coordinator

March 1972

Since the early days of the American involvement in Vietnam in 1966 there has been a constant protest on the U.S. presence in Vietnam, now South-East Asia, and the Canadian government's complicity in that war. That complicity was pointed out to a population conditioned to think of Canada as a non-military power capable only of a supportative role, never taking overt military action and certainly not helping the American effort in Vietnam but trying to cool things down as a member of the I.C.C. Now much of that image is crumbling but surprisingly the universities in Canada have so far escaped such a disillusionment under the pretence of an isolationist character based on the purity of a concept called "academic freedom".

The university in reality is becoming revealed as a component in the functioning of a society, firmly entrenched in efforts to support the U.S. foreign policy.

From an undergraduate's point of view the university has a function to serve her or his educational interests but from an administrative point of view the financial make up of the university's operation is the crucial question. One prime source of funds is the operation of research which brings with it personnel, facilities, prestige as well as money. On the other end of the cheque, there are the interests who are concerned with keeping pace in the ability to supply materials for lucrative military contracts, industry and the military itself, both foreign and domestic. A U.S. military publication best made its point with the title, "Research, the key to aerospace superiority" or more generally, "Research, the key to superiority". By superiority we can well understand the purpose of such research when it comes down to dropping 6 million tons of explosives on Vietnam as the U.S. has done, a quantity greater than that used in world war two.

We can see that there are three categories in research being done across Canada. That done by industry (largely American), the Canadian military (the Defence Research Board, D.R.B.) and the U.S. military.

American Military Research

The role of the U.S. military in Canadian university research is a surprising one and points to the importance of the Canadian network of complicity. According to the U.S. Congressional Record of May 1, 1969, page 11008 there were 43 research studies being carried out on campuses to a total of 3.9 million dollars.

This involved 14 at the University of Toronto, 10 at McGill University, 3 at the University of British Columbia and 2 at York University besides 10 other universities which have 1 or 2 such projects including the University of Manitoba and the University of Waterloo.

Among this research are such projects as:

University of Toronto: "very high Altitude Missile and Decoy Gas Dynamics" - \$161,000.

McGill University: "assessment of Military Performance Enhancement by Drugs" - \$139,000.

University of Manitoba: "Study of...Malarial Parasite" - \$20,000

University of Toronto: "Hypervelocity Launchers" - \$294,000.

McGill University: "Psychological Processes of the Central Nervous System" - \$700,000.

University of Waterloo (Mechanical Engineering Dept.): "Fundamental Processes in Solid Propellant Ignition", \$32,000 + \$13,000 (later grant) = \$45,000.

Many of the research projects have a neutral or innocuous character to them though, but this basic research upon completion is applied by the military and business interests in their own laboratories to suit their purposes. It is those purposes, military victory together with money and power, that determines the essential character of that initial research. Any society can be considered as forming a conveyor belt one part being basic and essential to every other part, one institution giving support to and receiving support from every other institution whatever the members of that institution may care. For those members then to be able to exercise their will, that is to control their own functioning, they must control their institution within the general context of their society.

Canadian Military Research

The second category of research is that being carried on by the Defence Research Board of Canada (D.R.B.). As opposed to the National Research Council, the D.R.B. is concerned with specifically military applications. The dimension of research being done by the D.R.B. is enough to surprise those with a liberal image of Canada. Of all the research sponsored by the government about half is controlled by the D.R.B.

The rationale of the existence of the D.R.B. is that of a division of labour having been established between Canada and the U.S. leading to a heavy emphasis on military research by Canada. In particular, Canada is regarded as having done pioneer work in the area of chemical and biological warfare and as a continuing centre for the testing and development of such knowledge. This division of labour is operated by the Defence Scientific Information Service. According to the Extramural Grants Manual of the Defence Research Board, "the armed forces maintain a constant interest in the results of research; and Canada takes part in a reciprocal exchange of scientific information with the defence organization of other countries". "The Defence Scientific Information Service (D.S.I.S.) is a part of the Defence Research Board Headquarters in Ottawa. Its services are available to Canadian scientists and engineers working on D.R.B. grants or contracts. It specializes in documents which result from defence-sponsored research in the U.S.A., U.K., Canada and to a lesser extent in other friendly allied countries".

"This material for the most part, cannot be found in university or company libraries. ...It is received under agreements which in some cases place restrictions upon its use."

"D.S.I.S. also distributes to the defence communities of the U.S.A, U.K., Canada and any other NATO countries, copies of reprints and reports of research carried out by or under the sponsorship of the D.R.B." In conclusion it states, "The Defence Research Board fully appreciates the contributions that Canadian universities can make to these continuing objectives".

An excellent analysis of the work being carried on by the D.R.B. is contained in the article written by Ian Wiseman for the Canadian University Press. From that information we learn that the University of Waterloo is also involved here as a centre for research into radiation chemistry. From the information available from the Office of Research Administration the various departments involved in providing research for the D.R.B. at the U. of W. are Biology, Physics, Statistics, Computing Centre, Applied Analysis and Computer Science, Psychology, Electrical Engineering, Chemistry, Chemical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Management Science and Mechanical Engineering. These projects total to 58 and \$335,100 from 1968 to 1972 alone. Even in Systems Design metagame theory is used to advise the U.S. administration on Vietnam policy.

The amount of information available at this time seems to be in fact just the most blatant or unsubtle aspects of university-military connections.

A more indirect but still strategic aspect of this involvement is the sharing of personnel between the university and industry as well as between the university and certain research projects having to do with military applications. For example: Canada's role and contribution to biological, chemical and nuclear warfare is quite prominent. According to the Last Post magazine of Dec. 1969, Canada participates in the "Technical Co-operation Program" developed during the second world war. Through that agreement, Canada established its chemical and biological warfare (C.B.W.) works at Suffield, Alberta. This program, which is illegal according to the Geneva Convention of 1925, leads to instances such as at McGill where you have Prof. E.G.D. Murray chairing a Bacteriological Warfare Research Panel; Otto Maas in charge of the Special Weapons Committee and G.B. Reed of Queen's head of the Kingston Lab. According to the MacDonald Commission of federal support to Canadian universities stated that the D.R.B. spent \$34,000 on biological and \$97,000 on chemical warfare in grants to universities in 1966-67 alone.

Industrial Research

In 1967 Walter Stewart a writer for the Star Weekly charged that "the government is zealously encouraging munitions sales by private firms. Teams of experts from Ottawa's Defence Production Department scour the U.S. for contracts which are either turned over directly to Canadian firms or processed through the Canadian Commercial Corporation

which not only solicits work but guarantees quality "to the American buyer, all at no cost to our manufacturers". (By "our manufacturers" the result is American subsidiaries.)

OTTAWA'S SUBSIDIES TO MILITARY CORPORATIONS

| Program | Ownership | Fiscal Year | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | | 1965-66 | 1966-67 |
| Defence Industry | Foreign (F) | \$22,044,200 | 25,776,400 |
| Productivity Program | Canadian (C) | 4,406,600 | 4,864,800 |
| Program for the Advancement of Industrial Technology | Foreign | 281,200 | 2,999,700 |
| | Canadian | 137,000 | 1,596,300 |
| | | <u>26,869,000</u> | <u>35,237,200</u> |

This table is prepared from data tabled in the House of Commons this year by the minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, in response to inquiries by Ed Broadbent (NDP-Oshawa) on Oct. 23, 1969. Corporations are classified as foreign-owned where more than 50 percent of voting stock is directly or indirectly owned by non-residents and there is a concentration of such ownership. Most of these companies are U.S. owned. The "Industrial Technology" program includes some companies not directly involved in war production. In its vast bulk, however, it aids defence industries and industries supplying raw materials to the U.S. war machine.

| | | 1967-68 | 1968-69 |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| F | 29,668,200 | | 26,160,800 |
| C | 3,793,800 | | 3,127,400 |
| F | 3,549,300 | | 765,100 |
| C | 2,815,600 | | 3,368,100 |
| | <u>39,826,900</u> | | <u>33,421,400</u> |
| | | <u>Total 1965 -69</u> | |
| F | 103,649,600 | | |
| C | 16,192,600 | | |
| F | 7,595,300 | | |
| C | 7,916,000 | | |
| | <u>135,354,500</u> | | |

The above table appeared in an article by Labour Challenge on Oct. 19, 1970 in which Harry Kopyto publicized the information provided by Trade Minister Jean-Luc Pepin in response to an inquiry by Ed Broadbent (NDP-Oshawa). This information upholds the charge made by Walter Stewart.

As can be seen by the table provided, there is a correlation between the increases in subsidies to the companies concerned by the Canadian government to the increases in activity by the U.S. military in South-East Asia. This carries the direct implication that the products resulting from the activity of these "Canadian" companies were to be used in the war against the Vietnamese people and in what is becoming evident as their physical extermination by technological means. A policy such as this is unbearable. The result of these programs was \$1.2 billion worth of armament sales to the U.S. over a four year period whose increases in the four year period also corresponded to the heightened activity in the South-East Asia arena.

The corporations concerned are generally American and in 1968-69, 89% of the Canadian government grants for research and development went to such foreign-owned corporations as Litton Systems, General Dynamics, Bendix, Sperry-Rand, General Electric, Westinghouse and Hawker-Siddeley. For example, Canadair, a wholly-owned aircraft subsidiary of General Dynamics of the U.S. was given \$24,565,100 from three combined giveaway programs between 1966 and 1969. Other recipients are corporations such as Noranda, Cominco and Eldorado mining which supply the U.S. war machine with strategic resources such as copper, nickel and uranium. Obviously, these corporations are going to use universities to develop those techniques necessary for them to carry out their operations and improve their efficiency for a greater profit. Here at Waterloo we can begin to see the further aspect of interpenetration between U.S. interests and campus research. We have projects here being conducted by Noranda mines, as well as others who are engaged in war production such as C.I.L., Dupont, Westinghouse, Marsland Industries, etc.

In his book, The Energy Poker Game, by Jim Laxer of the Waffle group, he stated, "By the end of the 1960's the U.S. had come to depend on Canada not only for immense profits, but also for strategic supplies in maintaining the military power on which the Americans depended for their control of much of the globe. One corporation alone, International Nickel (INCO) supplied the U.S. with the bulk of its vital nickel as well as sending its investors, a majority of whom are American, a net profit of one hundred and forty-three and a half million dollars in 1968. Aluminum, copper and zinc flowed from Canada to the U.S!" Of course INCO also does its research here at the University of Waterloo.

Further information concerning the companies involved in the sale of war material can be found in the Government publication Defence Products, but it is not available to Canadian citizens.

This policy of luring American military industry to Canada through grants for research and development has very serious implications regarding Canadian independence. What semblance of independence can there be if the Canadian government itself actively encourages the rapid take over of Canadian industry by American corporations who in turn tie Canada into a continentalist foreign policy through military sales of \$500,000,000 a year. Under the Canada-U.S. Defence Production Sharing Agreement industry in Canada has been providing increasing amounts of war material corresponding to the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

U.S. procurements of military equipment in Canada in millions
year of dollars

| | |
|------|-------|
| 1959 | 96.3 |
| 1960 | 112.7 |
| 1961 | 142.6 |
| 1962 | 254.3 |
| 1963 | 142.0 |
| 1964 | 166.8 |

year U.S. procurements...dollars

| | |
|------|-------|
| 1965 | 259.5 |
| 1966 | 317.1 |
| 1967 | 307.7 |
| 1968 | 320.0 |

On this topic, Mr. Pepin stated in the House of Commons in response to Ed Broadbent that, "It is not surprising that foreign-owned or controlled companies should receive quite substantial percentages of these funds. In the areas we are mostly concerned about, the areas of secondary industry, over 60% of Canadian industry is foreign controlled. The percentage of foreign control or ownership in our science-based industries is probably even higher than that...IRDIA and other programs make it easier for them to undertake research and development, with federal government assistance. If they do not undertake it, then it is the responsibility of their Canadian directors and management as well as of Canadian government, federal and provincial alike, to impress upon them the requirements of the Canadian interest."

From Mr. Pepin's explanation it becomes clearer why Mr. Hellyer, then a Liberal minister, told a U. of Toronto audience that students should not oppose the war in Vietnam because they are benefiting from it.

From the pattern seeming to emerge from all these networks there seems to be a definite interconnecting web between the military, the governments and the universities. This interrelationship is formally exposed in the composition of the D.R.B. itself. According to the National Defence Act:

"The Defence Research Board consists of a chairman and a vice-chairman, appointed by the Governor in Council, and

- a) the President of the National Research Council of Canada;
- b) the Deputy Minister of National Defence;
- c) such members as may be appointed by the Minister, as ex officio members representing the Canadian Forces; and
- d) such additional members representative of universities, industry and other research interests as the Governor in Council appoints."

Rationalizations of a War Research Policy

In two instances when an administrator was confronted with the facts about a certain aspect of war research in Canada, their reactions were both similar, and predictable.

In the first instance, Ed Broadbent M.P.-N.D.P.) asked Trade Minister Jean Luc Pepin on December 4, 1968 about the moral implications of a military oriented research and development program funded by the Canadian government. His reply was:

- 1) "Most of the defence equipment has a civilian commercial content... And the defence industry brings about technological programs and

management technique, which are vital in industrial development. ...We now have 175 companies involved in the production of defence equipment...You dread this: I find it normal."

- 2) In effect our alignment with the U.S. through NATO obligates us to be responsible for military production and procurement .
- 3) "This system (of defence production sharing agreement with the U.S.) gives us better and less costly armaments."
- 4) "This has contributed of course to our balance of trade and payments with the United States and with the rest of the world."
- 5) "All big industrial countries do it irrespective of political or moral creed."

Ed Broadbent's reply was, "Such research, however profitable in its side effects, is concerned with death, not with life. My point was that we have been so denoted, on both sides of the cold war, to this kind of benefit that we no longer even think of the meaningful moral questions. Secondly, it was ludicrous to rely on spin off effects from military research and development. If we want product X or process Y, we should do research aimed specifically at these purposes."

Mr. Pepin's reply in general revealed a concern with 'balance of payments' and profits rather than the moral basis of research and development which is what he was asked about in the first place. In fact, few Canadians realize that Canada is the fifth largest trader in armaments in the world, pulling in half a billion a year.

At the University of Waterloo where a significant amount of war research is being carried on, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee confronted the Senate in the fall of 1970 with some aspects of this research. The vice-president, Dr. Petch, defended such research by saying that:

- 1) the research is non-classified and therefore legitimate
- 2) the spin-off benefits from such projects are valuable to society which is just another way of saying that it is scientific progress
- 3) it is not up to the university to allow such research but is the choice of the researchers under the umbrella of "academic freedom".

The first point seems to imply that if an immoral policy is being carried out and it is known to a small segment of the population that the policy couldn't be immoral or it would of necessity be secret. Well, there is more than one way of blinding people as to the reality of a situation and if the information about such research could be kept secret without offending a segment of the population it most likely would be. Before the publication of the U.S. military projects in the Congressional Record in 1969 no university official admitted that these research projects existed.

The second argument brings up the question of whether or not scientific

progress is based on military activity, whether it is possible to have a society which does research for the social needs of its people and not a foreign policy complicit in genocide in Vietnam, nuclear weapons escalation, and chemical and biological warfare development. Obviously there are many alternatives to military scientific research, many of which are presented as spin-off benefits of the war research that is being defended. It's all an amazing reversal of priorities where projects on the elimination of pollution are hard to find and the military is a main sponsor of research. Critics of such a policy do not regard technology or science as a rampant evil, but the use of science by the military in co-operation with government as the cause of the perversion of science.

To the suggestion that the money presently being used to assist industry in military production be used instead for research into pollution control processes, Mr. Pepin replied to Mr. Broadbent saying, "Although the area of pollution is important, one could make a case for many other areas as well...The companies have the final say on which area they will spend their money and the government assistance funds." Mr. Broadbent correctly replied, "That last statement speaks worlds about the manner in which the present government establishes its scale of priorities."

As for the last point made by Dr. Petch, the cover of "academic freedom" merely supports the status quo whereby a rich military can lavishly sponsor research unlike any socially necessary agency. The administration's concept of "academic freedom" in effect means that the majority, the students and professors, must allow a few researchers to work for the U.S. military and similar institutions against our will. Is the university neutral and isolated from society? Obviously not, when links such as those with a foreign military agency form an integral part of the university. In a brief presented by the University of Waterloo's administration to the Committee on University Affairs in November 1970, applied research is defined as that "which clearly states a specific problem...The problem is specified by the sponsor and not by the research worker and progress and accomplishment are evaluated by the sponsor". Where does any concept of "academic freedom" fit into this schema where the researcher has no choice in the purpose of the project or the direction.

What is needed then is unconditional research grants to enable the researcher to escape the sponsor's determination of the goal and their supervision of the project. The overall research policy as well must not fall under the control of an administration or Board of Governors which presently overlooks the ongoing war research. Rather the population itself must have a say in the determination of a research policy since it is they who produce the wealth and facilities for others to carry on their research. The basis of a research policy not responsible to an institution's determination, which is opposed by the overwhelming number of students and faculty must be student-faculty and general population control over that policy. Only then will academic freedom become a reality and not a facade over the policy whereby those with money get their work done irregardless of their intent and the wishes of the university community.

The University of Waterloo's administration brief went on to say that, "it is our view that this kind of work (applied research, largely including war research) has a definite place at the University of Waterloo. We do not believe Waterloo should confine itself to 'pure' research." And (University of Waterloo) has developed only a "minor fraction" of its total research potential in the applied areas.

What has to be done then? During the 1930's and 1940's there was a movement in the U.S. of atomic scientists who attempted to educate the public about the danger of nuclear arms use and escalation. They failed but only through their inability to mobilize their constituency and the general population to bring the pressure to bear to effect some control over their own research. We must not fail. In recent years this campaign has been reborn in the Pugwash Conferences.

What must be done and has already begun is the organizing of a cross-Canada campaign to end war research on campus. Canadian students who have already responded to the demands of ending Canada's complicity in the Indo-China war and for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indo-China will also respond to the demand of ending war research on campus and in greater numbers.

Students are continually affected by the world around them by factors such as inflationary trends and extensive youth unemployment. These factors are basically related to the expenditures and the priorities determined by the war in Indo-China. So, by necessity, students will become more aware of the world situation and the relation of their institution to the course of world politics simply because they stake their lives in the future.

(signed) Abie Weisfeld

* * *

use.
This study was completed with the co-operation of many students and faculty. The following list of resource materials was mentioned in the study and may be obtained from: Abie Weisfeld, chairperson, Federation Sub-Committee on Research, c/o the Federation of Students, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

The bibliography following, contains much resource material not yet investigated and may be useful for others concerned with analyzing the question of war research further. For those who have already compiled some material or have access to such material, we would be interested in receiving it ourselves at the above address.

As for the material in the brief, anyone is welcome to use it and we would appreciate any such acknowledgements.

Insert.

①

Whereas ~~before~~ initially the document The Power and Importance of the Antiwar Movement (document volume 8 # 4, page 8) characterized the Amchitka phenomena in the following

manner, "The demand that Ottawa break from U.S. domination -- a domination which makes Canada a partner to the crimes in Vietnam -- now takes on a sharper meaning. The military treaties and arms production agreements that Canada has with the U.S. can be used to expose both U.S. domination of Canada and Canadian capitalists' part in the war. The antiwar movement can show how Washington uses Canada as a testing ground for its bombs and poisons, like Amchitka, under the NORAD agreement. NORAD is up for renewal next spring and the antiwar movement must carry a big campaign in exposing the completely reactionary, antihuman character of this agreement." in the amended form the

most striking paragraph is "But the antiwar movement had much greater difficulty in pointing out the complicity of the Canadian government in these aggressive acts(~~irre~~ the crimes of U.S. imperialism, AW) -- even the simple fact that Amchitka was a test under the NORAD alliance of which Canada is a member. The anti-US sentiment and Canadian nationalism fosed in the demonstrations by the ruling class (one Liberal MP in Niagara Peninsula denounced US imperialism) tended to divert them from an anti-capitalist thrust against Canadian government."

in Canada. That is where the mistake was made, in characterizing Canada as a semi-colony, because some classical ~~xxx~~ schema was sought to peg Canada into. Instead of then proceeding to analyze the Canadian situation using the basic tools of Marxism, the law of uneven and combined development, another classical schema was latched onto, the peg of the advanced capitalist nation in which nationalism must necessarily be reactionary. This is demonstrated by the admendment to the ^{youth} antiwar resolution on page 2, paragraph 2 where, "It is in the interests of the Canadian capitalist class -- junior partner of U.S. imperialists -- to defend U.S. economic interests and their consequences." was changed

to read "It is in the interests of the Canadian capitalist class -- partner of U.S. imperialists -- to defend U.S. economic interests and their consequences." (emphasis added, AW) (refer to document volume 8 #11, page 1) Fundamental to this schema was the proposition that Canada must then have a powerful and independent capitalist class and so leading to the ~~xxx~~ deduction that if Canada is an independent monopoly capitalist state, then it is necessarily an oppressor nation, then any nationalistic sentiment arising within its dominant population must be reactionary. But before setting down into ~~the slide~~ that deductive slide the comrades should have stopped to consider other conceptions of the Canadian

was written under the influence of the flip-flop of the PC majority, the youth documents did the same thing. In the

original version of The Power and Importance of the Antiwar

Movement, page 10, paragraph 3 there was a sentence "The war in Vietnam adds a central component to the oppression of the Canadian people and epitomizes our exploitation by the US imperialists and their junior partners in Canada." Obviously

the idea behind this statement is that Canada is a semi-colony which "is a mistake of tragic proportions" to use a phrase of Richard Thompson's. Canada is not a semi-colony because of the fundamental nature of class relations in Canada. In Canada you do not have the historical integration of a land-owning elite and a rising bourgeois industrial elite, that is, there are no tasks of a bourgeois-democratic revolution that have not been completed. Imperialism has not intervened to foster this merger of the traditional and bourgeois elite, to sustain any feudal remnants in land relations ~~maximize~~ to pose an agrarian question nor is there the underdevelopment characteristic of a semi-colony because the Canadian bourgeoisie is not ~~subordinated~~ subjugated so that industrial development is stunted or belated. Rather the Canadian bourgeoisie has a junior partner relationship to the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie

It has been said that the United Tendency should pull back and not force a decision on this most important question for the Canadian section. I can agree with that since we can see where a hasty decision has already led the Youth, but the decision to pull back at this time and to continue a literary discussion is not a decision that the United Tendency can make since that would require that the document Canada and the Crises of World Imperialism be withdrawn as a document to be voted on at the convention.

*of the Key Issues in
Dispute on
Nationalism*

Especially in view of since, by appending the second document, the conclusions of the majority
In ending I would like to pose the slogan for a Socialist

and Independent Canada in a United Socialist States of America as one which expresses how I see what the orientation to the nationalist sentiment should be and I would like to draw comrades attention to the appended study on war research as an application of that orientation. an orientation to the radicalizing nationalistic layers of the population.

the conclusions of the majority tend to position are retained even though the rational is obscured. published in the last VHC Mobilizer.

do you mean towards Abrie

In a USSoA there would be no basis for an Anglo Canadian nation.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ACTION PROPOSAL

Found in March 1972

This demonstration is a very important step towards a victory over the government's cutbacks in educational spending. But this is only the beginning. A victory will only be won when we break the isolation of students in various campuses and faculties and unite them in mass public protest. The referendums held this fall show that the overwhelming majority of students in this province want to take action. Had the OFS executive used its authority and the resources at its disposal there could have been tens of thousands of students from across Ontario at this demonstration.

We can't have any illusions, as some of the OFS leaders do, that the government will be "convinced" through discussion or lobbying to meet our demands. The government has consciously planned the cutbacks and despite our protest, they are continuing and extending them. The government has made every effort to deceive and delude students about their scope while at the same time trying to rally public opinion against the so-called privileges of students. We can only rely on ourselves, on our power and the justice of our cause.

Our power is in our numbers, united in action. We have to win all those opposed to the cutbacks -- the thousands of students who voted against them -- into mass actions of tens of thousands. Through our actions we have to win to our side the teachers, high school students and working people who suffer from the cutbacks. The government lies about its actions when says it is promoting "universal access" and tells us not to worry, go home and study. We have to get the truth out to all students and the public and through mass, visible and vocal demonstrations bring students into action to forge an alliance in struggle with teachers, high school students and our allies in the community.

This is the path followed by our brothers and sisters across this country. The Quebecois student union, Front Etudiant De Quebec, held a meeting two weeks ago of students from every Cegep in Quebec and laid plans for a Quebec-wide demonstration in December and a general strike of students. The thousand students in Regina and the 1,500 in St. John's have shown the way.

There is no other organization at this time besides the OFS which can be the vehical for province-wide actions. As the representative of students, the OFS has the responsibility to organize these actions.

The Young Socialists propose that OFS, at its next meeting:

1. Adopt clear and unequivocal demands as the basis of struggle against the cutbacks -- STOP ALL CUTBACKS! NO FEE HIKE! NO REDUCTION IN STUDENT AID! If the government needs money TAX THE CORPORATIONS, NOT STUDENTS!
2. Call and organize one-day moratoriums on every campus in Ontario. Classes should be shut down and students can gather to discuss the cutbacks and necessary action. OFS should put out a poster, organize speakers, etc.
3. Use this moritorium day of education and protest as the basis for building cross-province demonstrations and conferences that can bring together students from every campus and reach out to the community.

For some of us this is the second time we have come to Queen's Park. Some of us have been here dozens of times since the early '60s when the student movement launched the fight to make education a right and not a privilege. We are no going to stop until we win.

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes:
Toronto: 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618

STOP THE CUTBACKS, TAX BIG BUSINESS!

The Wright Report listed "universal accessibility" as its number one goal. That was a lie. Then the government refused to allow full discussion of the report. When over 1,000 students went to Queen's Park to protest the report last March 28 George Kerr told us there would be no fee hikes. Later on the same day the government hiked fees -- for some students as much as \$600 from zero! They said this was in the interest of the "taxpayer" yet the same budget increased taxes falling most heavily on low income people.

Dozens of student delegations have gone to see various ministers; students have overwhelmingly rejected these cutbacks in a province-wide referendum, yet the government -- which admits education is deteriorating -- refuses to change its position. A few days ago Davis refused to say there would be no further cutbacks.

The cutbacks are no accident. They are the consciously planned policy of governments in all the capitalist countries, reflecting the economic crisis of a rotting system. The U.S. plans to slash some ten billion dollars in the next decade; students in France and England have organized mass demonstrations to protest similar attacks. In Canada the cutbacks are well underway. The Wright Report and the Peitchinis (Federal) Report show what's in store for the future -- more of the same. Peitchinis proposes to increase the student's "share" of the cost by 800 percent!

While attacking education at every level the government has told us that it is "in the public interest" and on behalf of the "average taxpayer." There Queen's Park partners of big business who supervise the billion dollar handouts to corporate welfare bums and who spend millions electing themselves to office tell us that students are "privileged" while passing legislation that will ensure that only the privileged can become students.

Is it in the "public interest" to erect financial barricades around the universities? Is it in the "public interest" to lower the overall educational level of society? Is it in the "public interest" to exclude women, working class youth and oppressed minorities and to "cut out the frills" so that education is even more of a factory producing robots? Is it in the "public interest" to train less teachers, nutritionists, engineers, nurses, dentists, scientists, architects or doctors?

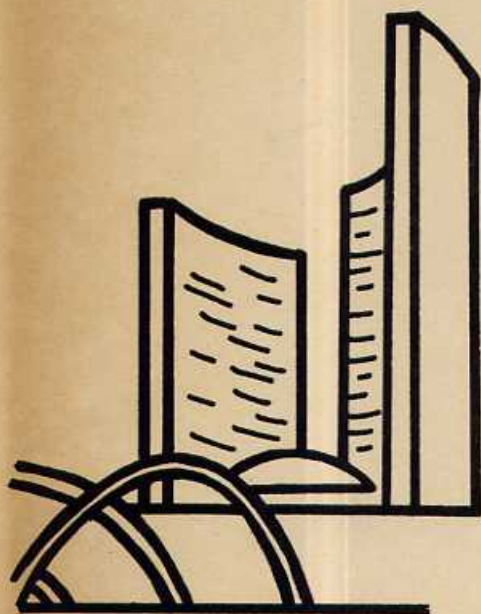
Ease the tax burden? Here the bourgeois guardians of "public interest" only add one lie to another. For working people and students -- for the masses -- taxes have continued to rise. Only big business has its "burden" eased. There is no capital gains tax -- only loopholes, "incentive grants" and antilabor laws. In this "just" society more money is spent on the military than all of post-secondary education. Preparing Canadian troops for Vietnam and building a mighty destructive apparatus has priority over education!

We of the Young Socialists have a different view. Education must be a right for all, not a privilege. This society has the resources to abolish tuition and pay students a living wage. The cutbacks of faculty, maintenance -- all the cutbacks -- must be ended.

We are an organization of revolutionary youth fighting for socialism; to abolish society based on profit and build one based on human needs. It is toward such a society that this struggle, with others, can and must lead:

Stop the Cutbacks, Tax Big Business! EDUCATION FOR ALL!

For a labor City Hall



On Dec. 4 Toronto elects its civic government. The old-guard candidates represent an administration of big business and private developers, of Liberal and Tory party hacks.

How can an effective alternative be posed?

The League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists stand for a labor city government, based on the interests of the vast majority: tenants, poor, women, students; unionists.

The New Democratic Party, which presents a labor alternative in the federal elections, is running no slate in the Toronto civic elections. The LSA and YS are therefore putting forward candidates for a real alternative: a labor, socialist city government.

Come to the Nomination Rally
Join the campaign

NOMINATION RALLY

to launch the socialist slate

Mayor
Aldermen

Board of Education

Friday Oct. 27 8pm

334 Queen St. W.

For more information phone 364-5908.

Campaign for an NDP government.

Join the struggle for socialism.

Join the Young Socialists.

....I want more information on the Young Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Prov. _____

Clip and mail to the YS local nearest you

BRANDON, Man.: Box 95, Brandon University

EDMONTON, Alta.: 10518 Whyte, No. 6, 423-7358

FREDERICTON, N.B.: Student Union Building, University of New Brunswick

GUELPH, Ont.: c/o Tom Baker, Box 19 Ontario Vet. College, University of Guelph

HALIFAX-DARTMOUTH, N.S.: 2614 Windsor St., Halifax, N.S.

HAMILTON, Ont.: 182 Locke St. W., 529-8979

HULL, Que.: No. 7, 90 Rue Principal

KITCHENER-WATERLOO, Ont.: Box 921, Kitchener, 576-2293

MONTREAL, Que.: 226 est Ste-Catherine, 861-3028

ORILLIA, Ont.: Box 835

OTTAWA, Ont.: c/o Cris Schrenk, 33 Rosemount, Apt. 18, 728-4965

PETERBOROUGH, Ont.: 429 Stewart St., 745-9819

REGINA, Sask.: Box 623

RICHMOND HILL, Ont.: Box 281

ST. CATHERINES, Ont.: c/o Student Union Office, Brock University

STURGEON FALLS, Ont.: c/o Gaetan Gagnon, 64 Nipissing, Box 414

TORONTO, Ont.: Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618

York University: c/o Tony DiFelice, CYSF, Rm. N108 Ross Bldg., 667-3532

VANCOUVER, B.C.: 1208 Granville, 688-5924

VICTORIA, B.C.: 445 Gorge Rd.

WINNIPEG, Man.: No. 728-416 Main St., 943-7791

Read the socialist press

Young Socialist and Labor Challenge talk about what's happening in the student movement, the NDP, the Quebec independence movement, women's liberation, the antiwar movement, and much more. Special subscription offer: 8 issues of Labor Challenge (4 months) and ten issues of Young Socialist (one year) for \$2.00.

Clip and mail to VANGUARD BOOKSTORE 334 Queen Street West, Toronto. Please fill in both blanks.

.... Enclosed is \$2.00 for one year of Young Socialist and 4 months of Labor Challenge.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Zone _____ Prov. _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Zone _____ Prov. _____



Join the campaign

NDP to power Oct. 30!

Four years ago Pierre Elliott Trudeau promised us a "Just Society", "a new start for Canada" and the new "participatory democracy."

Since then, he and his government have pushed youth unemployment to the highest level of any industrialized country in the world; masterminded the cutbacks in education; sent the army into Quebec; given over \$5 billion in outright grants to the giant corporations; sat back smugly while big business destroyed our lakes, rivers, and air; while back-ally butcher-abortionists murdered over 2,500 women; while Nixon blew up Amchitka and while Canadian business raked in millions from arm sales to the U.S. war machine.

And when people became concerned Trudeau told unemployed Montreal truck drivers to "eat shit;" unemployed Ontario youth to "use your own

With the NDP — towards a new society

initiative to find jobs; women who want legal abortion that they're murderers; farmers with rotting grain — "Why should I sell your wheat;" and questioning anti-war activists to "fuck off." Then he advised Canadian youth to refrain from watching the 11 o'clock news "because it will give you bad dreams."

And after that he wants us to vote for him!

It's no accident that Trudeau has done what he has done; that this country is in such a mess, and that Stanfield and the Conservative Party have essentially the same to offer.

Who will rule Canada?

Canada is owned by a handful of millionaires — the 97 men who control almost every sector of the Canadian economy through their 930 corporate directorships — and run it in the interests of making profits. In order to do this effectively they also own a couple of political parties — namely the Liberals and Conservatives. Both receive their financial backing and political "guidance" from big business. He who pays the piper calls the tune.

In order to bring about positive change, we need a party that acts in our interests. The New Democratic Party is the only one that speaks for the majority — the working class and the other oppressed of society. It doesn't get any support from the E.P. Taylors. In fact, big business hates it. It is financed and supported by working people. It has been built by working people, struggling for a better life.

The corporations...

The NDP is the only alternative to the status quo in this election. The Lewis attack on the "corporate welfare bums" shows whose side the NDP is on. Because it is a party of the working people, the NDP has been deeply affected by the ongoing struggles of students, women, anti-war activists and other people fighting for change. Its program includes free tuition for students, US out of Vietnam and an end to Canada's complicity in the war, repeal of all anti-abortion laws, free community controlled daycare centres.

...or us?

The Liberals and Tories can only block our struggles. The NDP can propel them forward. An NDP victory would inspire and intensify the different movements of the oppressed. A Labor government could win concrete gains for the working people, and open the way for fundamental social change.

This is why we've got to campaign for an NDP government and use the 2.8 million new votes we hold to bring it about.

The NDP has limitations. Its conservative leadership wants to reform this profit system, not end it. The leadership also sees the parliamentary road as the only way for change, and they sometimes even oppose demonstrations, mass meetings strikes, etc.

But you don't get anything ready made., You can either stand on the sidelines and complain that even our party, the NDP, isn't what it should be, or you can join the struggle to make it effective. In order to change the world we must organize to see our needs fulfilled.

That's what the Young Socialists is all about. We are the only active youth movement that supports the NDP. And we're out to organize a movement of thousands of youth who are fighting for a better world, 365 days a year, inside and outside the NDP, and determined to use any means necessary, not just elections.

Members of the Young Socialists can be found on campuses and high schools from Vancouver to Halifax, organizing against the oppression of this society. We're opposed to the war in Vietnam and Canada's complicity in it: we're fighting for women's liberation — for legal abortion, birth control, day care, equal pay for equal work; we're organizing against the cutbacks in education and for student-staff control of the universities and schools. In all, we're working to win the youth of Canada to the struggle for a new society.

We're serious about changing the world. And we know that it will take nothing short of a socialist revolution — a complete restructuring of society — to end the injustice, irrationality and brutality of this system. Because it is building the independent power of the oppressed, the campaign to elect the NDP is part of that process.

The struggle for change takes a lot of effort and a lot of people. But the future of all of us rests upon it. We need your help. If you think we are right in what we're doing you should join us. Join us in campaigning for an NDP government. Join us in fighting for a socialist world.



October 1970. Under the War Measures Act Trudeau sent the army into Quebec and suspended civil liberties. The NDP was the only party to stand up in opposition.

STOP "Business as usual"



**Support the Nov. 14
Vietnam Moratorium**

RALLY 10:30 am
Convocation Hall
(Boycott classes during the rally)

MARCH NOV. 15 1:00 pm
Queens Park

Withdraw all U.S. troops now

**End Canada's involvement
in Vietnam**

**Solidarity with the American
Vietnam Moratorium**

NO DEMOCRACY AT STAR FORUM

LET HENDERSON SPEAK

Jacque Henderson is the socialist candidate for mayor. Her name will appear on the ballot. She meets all the legal requirements.

But she is not being allowed to speak tonight.

The Star has decided that only candidates spending over \$50,000 may speak. Only members of the Conservative Party (Crombie and Rotenberg) or the Liberal Party (O'Donohue) are "serious."

Jacque Henderson is campaigning to end big business control of City Hall. She is campaigning to make City Hall serve the interests of tenants, workers, students, women -- the ninety-eight percent of the population that is not represented by the so-called "serious candidates."

The Toronto Star opposes the socialist program. The Toronto Star has virtually blacked out news coverage of the socialist campaign. And now the Toronto Star has excluded Jacque Henderson from the Star Forum.

This is pure discrimination. Democracy requires that all citizens be allowed to hear and examine all viewpoints. The Toronto Star is opposed to democracy in civic politics.

The Toronto Star is denying your right to hear:

It is denying Jacque Henderson's right to be heard.

Jacque Henderson is here tonight. We urge you to support her right to speak.

--TORONTO 1972 SOCIALIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN--

The Toronto 1972 Socialist Election Campaign is sponsored by the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action.
For more information about the socialist campaign, phone 364-5908 or 363-9618, or visit our Campaign Headquarters, 334 Queen Street West.

TORONTO SOCIALIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN

League for Socialist Action & Young Socialists

Jacque Henderson, Mayor
Darrell Furlotte, Alderman, Ward 4
Ellie Kirzner, Alderwoman, Ward 8
Heather Thompson, Bd. of Education, Ward 8
Cliff Mack, Bd. of Education, Ward 6
Able Weisfeld, Bd. of Education, Ward 4

Joan Campana, Campaign Manager.

Campaign Office: 334 Queen Street West
364-5908 or 363-9618

Dear Friend,

"Camillo Milani, president of Milani and Milani Holdings Ltd., says his firm has budgetted some money for campaign contributions, but he won't say how much. He says his firm isn't doing any more than the railroad interests did in the federal elections in the 1870's."

Toronto Star, Nov. 11, 1972.

In the 1870's the railroad interests controlled the political purse-strings--and became the original corporate welfare bums. They were given millions of acres of land, millions of dollars in grants, for their support of pro-railroad candidates.

It's no different today. Those who pay the piper call the tune. Rotenberg and Crombie are in the Conservative Party. O'Donohue is a Liberal. They are backed by various big business interests in Toronto, and by the big business parties--and when elected they'll act in the interests of big business. They admit that they will spend over \$130,000 to buy their way into City Hall, to run it for their corporate backers.

The socialist slate provides the only real alternative in this election. The League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialist candidates are fighting to end corporate power in Toronto and across Canada.

We get no support from the corporations or the Liberals or the Conservatives. All our supporters are ordinary citizens--workers, students, women, unemployed--who want a city in which human rights count for more than the "property rights" of the developers. Our supporters and candidates devote their time and energy to fighting for a labor City Hall.

Our campaign will not cost as much as those of the big business candidates. We don't need money for ad men to adjust our images or for consultant firms to tell us what the issues are. But, we need a minimum of \$2000 to present an effective campaign. We need the money for posters, brochures, mailings, telephone and office space.

We know that working people and students don't have the millions of the Milani's or Meridian to devote to the campaign. But your financial support is essential to present the labor alternative in this election. Whatever you can give, be it five dollars or five hundred, there is no more important way for you to spend your money. A contribution to the socialist campaign is an investment in the fight for a labor City Hall-- a big step towards a socialist Canada.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Campana

Joan Campana,
Campaign Manager.

_____ clip and mail to _____
SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto.

___ Enclosed is a donation of \$ _____ to help finance the 1972 socialist campaign.

(Make cheques payable to LSA CAMPAIGN or to Joan Campana, campaign manager.)

___ I would like to endorse the campaign.

___ I would also like to help in other ways.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____

CEC reply to Winnipeg Local proposal to postpone the YS/LJS Convention.

YS/LJS CO,
334 Queen St. W.,
Toronto, Ont.,
Dec. 20, 1972

Mike Tregebov,
Organizer, Winnipeg YS

Dear Mike,

The CEC has obtained a copy of your letter of Dec. 12 conveying the decision of the Winnipeg local to "strongly, emphatically urge" the postponement of the YS/LJS convention. We note that this letter, sent to all locals, has yet to be recieved by the YS/LJS Central Office, even though it is addressed to the "Central Executive Council."

In the view of the CEC none of the arguments contained in the letter provide any grounds for postponing the convention. Many of the arguments you raise have nothing whatsoever to do with the discussion in the YS/LJS or its convention.

In the view of the CEC the political issues and positions in the YS/LJS have been clarified. The preconvention discussion has been open for seven months. The CEC's main documents have all been out for several months and are based on well-established positions of the movement. The RCT's documents have been out for some time -- if others are not yet out it is not for lack of time. In fact, the RCT was declared, and its theses submitted, before the discussion opened seven months ago. It is also the view of the CEC that nothing new has been brought into the discussion that would warrant an extention of the preconvention period.

The view expressed in your letter that the political issues and positions in the LSA/LSO have not been clarified is irrelevant. The YS/LJS is an independent organization. While we are interested in the LSA/LSO discussion, which has great importance for us, it is a different discussion than that taking place in the YS/LJS. The decision of the LSA/LSO to open this discussion to our membership is and remains a decision of the League, not of the YS/LJS.

The opinion of the Winnipeg local that the documents submitted by the CEC are "non-analytical and rhetorical" is just that -- an opinion. Your charge that the leadership is "essentially asking the membership to endorse its positions without critical discussion" is false to the core. The present discussion has been the longest pre-convention discussion in our history. Moreover, it is the most fully documented discussion in our history.

Your letter raises the question of League-Youth relations and asks: "Will... the profound debate within the League be hidden from the youth?" As stated earlier, this is the League's discussion. It is their decision to whom it is open and how it is carried. It is not our decision in any way, shape or form.

.....2

We do not feel that financial considerations warrant postponing the convention. As you know there is a travel pool for delegates. This pool is designed to ensure that delegates are elected on the basis of their politics rather than their personal financial situation and thus to ensure the fullest democracy.

It is time to let the movement speak. Locals do not have the right to prevent the movement from meeting. The convention can decide whatever it wants. It is a meeting of the membership, the highest body of our movement. When the issues in the discussion are clear, after a seven month period, calls to postpone the convention can only undermine the democracy of the movement and impede its development.

Will the political debate be ended by the convention? This is up to the convention to decide. The delegates can decide to end the discussion, leave certain questions open, etc. However, conventions are to make decisions. Their purpose is to allow the movement to act. It is our hope that this convention of the movement will decide on a clear political line and turn the movement outward to meet the challenges before us.

Comradely,

Richard Thompson

Jacquie Henderson — woman for labor

This city will have a woman for labor at its helm if Jacquie Henderson has her way.

Henderson, 25, is the editor of the socialist voice in Toronto, *s Labour Challenge*. She has been an activist for the past 11 years, belonging to such groups as The Canadian Women's Coalition to Repel the Abortion Laws. She has also toured Canada speaking on women and labour.

After an unsuccessful attempt at Board of Education trustee in the last civic elections, Henderson is taking a plunge for mayor. She is heading a combined League for Socialist Action and Young Socialist slate in a bid to "kick out the big business and private developers represented by the Liberal and Tory party hacks in city hall."

What she'll replace it with is a 'fighting city council' who will base its interests on women, tenants, the poor, students, and unions.

She compares her plight to that of William Lyon Mackenzie, the colourful leader of the revolution of 1837 in Upper Canada and the first mayor of Toronto.

"I will take my lead from William Lyon Mackenzie. He was the first to mobilize council and in 1837 lead the people of Toronto against the Family Compact. He was responsible for all the democratic reforms of the 19th century. Like him, I'll mobilize council and the people of Toronto against the family compact of our time."

The 'family compact' she refers to is the big business interest which she feels is now being represented in council.

"I don't intend to represent all the people, just 98 per cent of them, the other two percent already has control of city hall."

"What I want is a fighting council, to fight for the people against business. This council is fighting the people for business and they can't do that."

To illustrate her point, she picked the garbage strike which she said had fought so hard against giving garbage men a decent living and then turned around and voted themselves a 100 per cent pay raise."

She said that it is impossible for a politician to dedicate himself to all the people. "If a politician listens to developers and people, the developers will win because the politician won't make the break with money. After all, big business is behind all the other candidates."

There were two issues which Henderson brought up that none of the other politicians have mentioned. She seems to think that the Vietnam war is a municipal issue along with the rights of women.

"The war in Vietnam is a major issue for this city. Recently, the federal government said it would be in favour of sending Canadian peace keeping troops to Vietnam. We are in opposition to any troops for whatever reasons being sent. I think it's possible to mobilize the people of Toronto against it and if Toronto is against sending troops to Vietnam, that will have considerable impact on the rest of the country."

If Henderson becomes mayor, women may finally get their way in chauvinist Toronto.

"I'm running as a feminist because in Toronto women are discriminated against more than anywhere else in the country. The discrimination starts at city hall. The secretaries didn't get a raise when all the men who sit in council did."

"In Toronto, women get the lowest

wages, they're the first fired and the last hired."

There are over 2,000 women on waiting lists for child care. We need to provide these women with the facilities and we must do it on a 24 hour basis. Right now, most child care centres operate between 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. It ignores the fact that many women work shifts and allows only richer women to have a life of their own because they can afford babysitters."

In the field of abortion, she says, "The city, with its health board is responsible for putting three members of council on the board. I would demand that council take the position of abortion being a personal matter. Women should be able to decide for themselves if they desire an child or an abortion. The abortion boards will then merely be a rubber stamp for women who want abortions."

"I would also demand that community clinics supply contraceptives. I would also see that in sex education in schools, the kids would receive birth control information and that methods of birth control would be accessible in the schools."

She also talked about the issues which some of the other candidates are concerning themselves with. That is the issue of development and housing.

"The official plan in this city is a joke.

It rezones land, telling developers where to go to buy cheap land."

"Another problem in this city is good public housing. That is another of my concerns, the creation of good public housing."

Her solution to the problem is, "Private developers own over 18,000 acres of the 19,600 acres estimated for homes in the next 10 years. I would implement a municipal capital gains tax to eliminate some of this speculation. I would then expropriate land for public housing from the developers and not from homeowners as the city has done in the past."

When it was brought to her attention that many people live in the areas that belong to developers such as the controversial South St. James Town area, she qualified her statement saying, "Of course we would have to do it in collaboration with the people in the area."

She says her party is running with the intention of winning. It is not a token campaign. "We're out to win but we won't take any money from them. We have a problem with publicity though, the three newspapers are trying to give coverage to only three candidates."

"But I feel its better to vote for something you want and don't win than vote for something you don't want and win",



Story by
George Ono

The Wright Report and You

by Richard Thompson

The following is the brief presented by the Young Socialists to the Commission on Post Secondary Education in Ontario (Wright Commission).

The starting point for any report that aims to improve matters for the majority of people must be the facts. These are hard to find even between the lines of your "Draft Report" on post-secondary education in Ontario. As it stands the real reasons for your recommendations are hidden in secret documents. When Committee member Phyllis Grosskurth revealed the existence of such documents we were treated to lame excuses from Commission Chairman Wright. It is impossible for us to believe you want an open discussion when key documents are hidden from the public. You list "public accountability" as one of the report's main aims, yet you have denied the public the most vital information!

According to your report's "Aims and

Universal accessibility

Objectives" the "first principle" of the Commission is universal accessibility to

education. But the first series of proposals, supposedly to open post-secondary institutions to those who are presently excluded, are nothing more than deception. Recommendation II, for example, proposes that workers who want to continue their education should pay for it out of their wages by giving up raises. You say that workers should have "a choice of simple salary increase or equivalent educational benefits." With continuing inflation and a rising cost of living how many workers can afford to give up a "simple salary increase?"

The real effect of your proposals on financing education will not be to increase accessibility but to decrease it. You propose to have students pay 50 percent of the operating costs of their education instead of the present 13 percent. Even after paying grants to students from low-income families tuition fees will more than double on the average.

Summer employment for students is becoming more and more difficult to get each year. Hundreds of thousands of students were unemployed last summer and many more were only able to find work for a few weeks. Students can't afford to pay any more; already many students are forced into debt. To pay for the increased cost you propose even

more loans, no longer interest-free. To obtain a degree, students will have to go thousands of dollars into debt. Is this supposed to be a step towards universal accessibility?

These proposals for loans will not only limit access to education they will also put an additional burden on many families. More students will be forced to live at home, financially dependent on their families, because of the loan restrictions. The proposal to cancel debts for women who marry will force many women into the home as a financial necessity.

You propose to eliminate Grade 13, not because of the repressive nature of the high schools, but to cut costs. This recommendation will again increase the burden on students who will have to begin paying for their education one year sooner.

Living and learning

The first three recommendations of the report are supposedly designed to create a "whole new policy for providing our young people with viable and constructive alternatives to continuous schooling." This proposal to bring about a "closer integration of working and studying" will not be a matter of choice for the student or worker. For many youths this will be the only way they can afford to continue their education, working a low-paying job for six months in order to finance half a year at school. This is not a proposal to combine "living and learning" (which students can already do if they want to), it is a method of cutting costs and a further step in denying students the right to an education.

Quality of education.

If the proposals of the Draft Report are implemented the quality of

education will decline even more rapidly than it is now. In the Statement of Issues you complain that education is "labor intensive," that costs are high because there have to be so many teachers. Instead of proposing that the thousands of unemployed, qualified teachers be hired to meet the growing needs, you favor cutting back even more. There are to be fewer teachers with fewer qualifications. From what is happening all across Canada it is clear which faculty members will be axed first: the radicals and dissidents.

The creation of a "University of Ontario" is part of the move towards "media education." Through the streamlining of education and growing use of media (as a replacement, not a complement to teaching) the proposals will mean less tutorials, more overcrowded classes, computer exams and similar steps. Everything that affects students' conditions of living and studying will deteriorate.

Cutbacks

There is a huge gap between what the report outlines as "aims and objectives" and the real intent of the proposals. The actual objectives are massive cutbacks in education spending. When Commissioner Jack Kirkaldy was asked about this at the MacMaster teach-in he did not answer. The reason is clear; the whole report is a cynical attempt to justify the cutbacks.

Why did the report make no comment or study of the effect of the education cutbacks that have already taken place and that the government is implementing even now? Is this what is in the secret documents? Are you afraid to publicize the real facts about these cutbacks — that they are undermining every aspect of education? Many classes are already overcrowded. Almost a quarter of the residences at Glendon

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Ex-committee member fights report

"All the time I was on that Committee I never once heard them talk about students, only budgets and 'Basic Income Units,'" said Phyllis Grosskurth, a University of Toronto English professor who resigned from the Committee of University Affairs on January 3. She resigned because the committee had been a "facade" while the real policies are controlled by the government and the Treasury Board. YS talked to Dr. Grosskurth about the Wright Report. "They've already begun to implement this policy," she said. "It had been figured out a long time ago." The Commission has been "a piece of political propaganda, to convince people that the government was really looking into education." She explained that the real aim of government policy is to cutback education spending: "I asked Wright what the objectives of the Commission were, the quality of education or to cut costs. He didn't

answer."

We asked her about Wright's statements that students were privileged. She told us that many students living close to the poverty line have been turned down when they apply for student assistance. "There's no real investigation of this," she said. "It takes four to six months for appeals to be answered and these students can't get welfare in the meantime." When she talked to the official in charge of appeals he refused to give her any information about how many of these appeals have been turned down.

Since she resigned from the CUA Grosskurth had been actively working to expose the real policies of the government. She feels it is essential to organize against the report and the government's attack on education. Their confidential plans, she told us, "are more horrible than you could imagine."

**Young Socialist
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5 cents**

(p.2)

...YS brief to Wright Commission con't

College was empty in the fall because of high costs. In the high schools more and more teachers are being laid off each year (2,000 teachers are being dropped in downtown Toronto alone this year). Massive cutbacks are also underway in other provinces.

How is it that you didn't even raise the question of these cutbacks which have been going on since the Commission was formed in 1969? Is this not because the direction of the "Draft" Report's recommendations is already underway? Is the purpose of the report really to get our opinions or is it not in fact designed to ram through policies already decided upon which are far more sweeping than the report indicates?

The cynical deceit of your report is symbolized by Recommendation 18, that "all citizens of Ontario should have access to all libraries," at the same time as the U. of T. library council is moving to exclude undergraduates from the stacks of their own library!

Demagogy

Since the report has been released, you have attempted to justify education cutbacks by demagogy. Commission Chairman Wright tells us that because low-income families pay a disproportionately high share of the costs of higher education students are "privileged." A majority of students spend less than \$170 per year on recreation and with few exceptions they own little or nothing. Is this "privileged?"

You say nothing about the real problem that taxes are inequalitarian. Why don't you attack the real privileges, those of the E.P. Taylors and the corporation directors who sit on university Boards of Governors? Instead of proposing that big business be taxed to pay for education you take the hypocrisy one step further by making recommendations that will make it even more difficult for lower and middle-income youth to attend universities and community colleges.

Centralization of power

In order to carry off this assault on students and education most effectively you propose to centralize all of the power firmly in the hands of the Provincial Government. Not even token student or faculty representatives are to be elected to the centralized co-ordinating bodies. All the members of the central body will be appointed by the Lieutenant

Governor in Council, by the government.

These recommendations are an attack on democracy in education. They are in direct opposition to the efforts of tens of thousands of students who have struggled to win some control of their education and their lives in the past few years. Students and faculty are the ones who use the campuses, who work and study there. They must have the right to decide what goes on. Your proposals are a denial of these elementary rights of students to control their own lives.

In whose interest are these recommendations? They do not benefit students, nor do they benefit the poor or working people who will continue to pay disproportionate taxes and who will face even larger barriers to higher education. If you were concerned about the interests of working people why did you not abolish tuition fees as the Ontario Federation of Labor brief recommended? If your concern was really low-income groups why did you not challenge the regressive system of taxation which pays for education? The reason is obvious — the main concern of your commission has been to defend the interests of big business and to ensure its continued control of education. The Draft Report with all its fancy rhetoric and lies is a whitewash.

We'll fight it

You stand on the side of big business. The same big business that has created massive unemployment among youth which is now well over 10 percent with no prospect of a decline. The tens of thousands of high school and campus graduates with no jobs are just so much useless baggage for the corporations. So why waste money training them, especially when the money can bolster profits elsewhere? Since education isn't quite so profitable anymore why not make students pay "the full cost?" And to make it a little easier to get away with, why not put out a report that talks about the need to "humanize education" and the "ideals of openness and democracy?"

If you were really concerned about education you would have made recommendations in the interests of students. It is we who use the universities and community colleges. What is needed is more funds to counter the presently deteriorating conditions of education, to eliminate tuition altogether and pay students a living wage.

We propose to fight the cutbacks. Your report is calculated bullshit. We demand an end to the cutbacks, not tuition hikes and that big business be taxed to pay for it.

McGill fights fee hike

The Quebec Department of Education has called for tuition changes at McGill University which would mean that the tuition for all students from outside Quebec will be hiked to \$2,500.

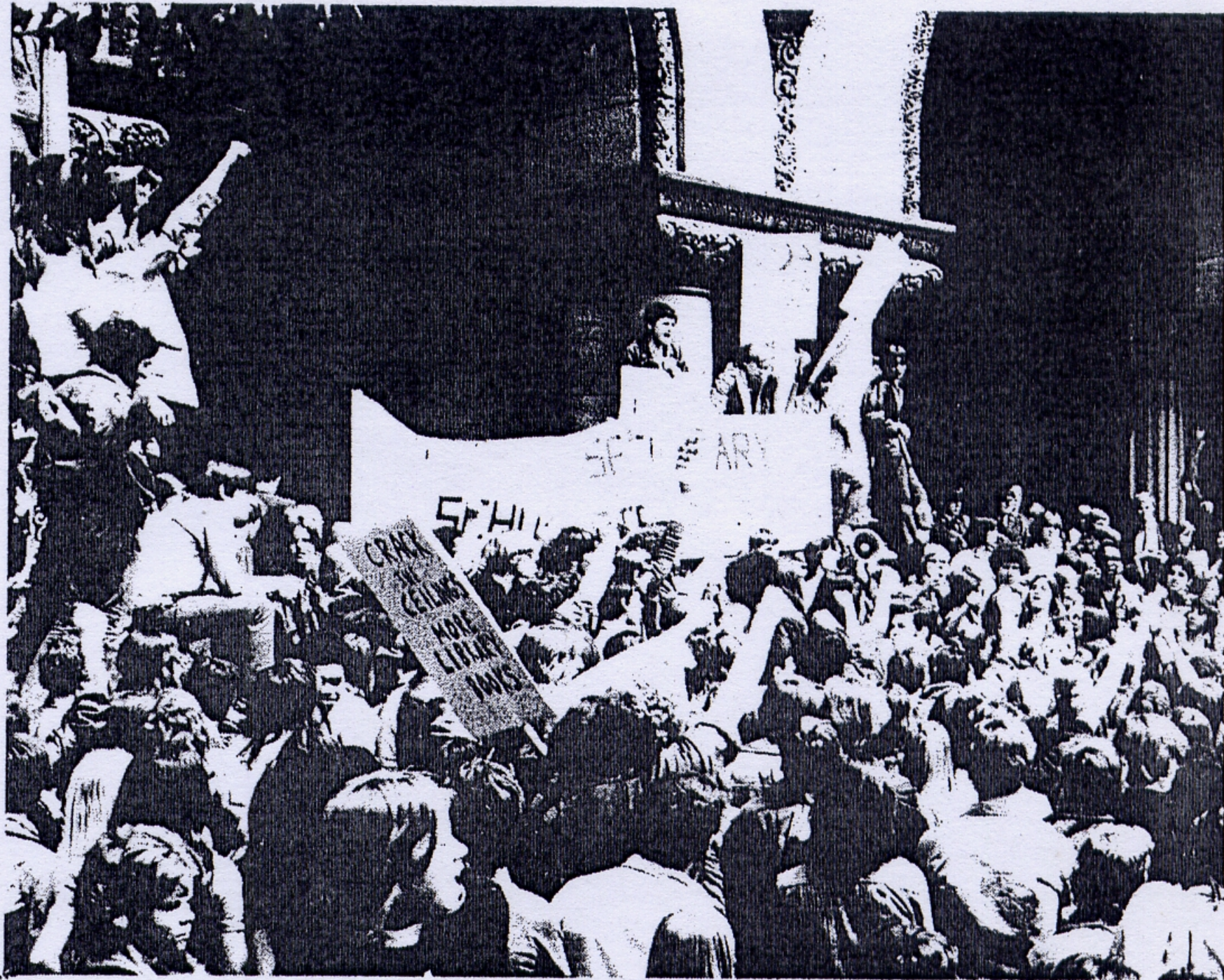
Students who oppose the tuition hike have already circulated a petition (receiving 1,300 signatures) and held numerous meetings and several large forums. Recently the McGill Anti-Fee Hike Coalition was formed to coordinate campus wide opposition to the fee increase.

Harn Yawn Ghwe, a fourth year engineering student and one of the coordinators of the coalition was interviewed by McGill Young Socialist Tara Deosarin. She asked him to explain how the coalition came about:

"At first nobody took the fee hike seriously. The International Student's

Association started a petition; the West Indian Society had discussions and formed the West Indian Committee to oppose the fee hike; the Asian Society started a committee also. There were many groups that were not coordinated and duplicated the work, so we all got together and formed the coalition. We have got the support and a budget from the Students' Society. The coalition now includes all national clubs and many individuals on campus."

Harn explained the immediate plans of the coalition: "We would like to contact other Quebec universities and hold a teach-in to inform students about the fee hike and why it should be opposed. And we'd like to force the University to make a statement and bring in a government spokesman to explain it to us."



High school students showed the way in Toronto last May as thousands walked out and demonstrated against the cutbacks at the provincial parliament buildings.

Bennett cuts VCC budget

by Bev Bernardo, Organizer of the Vancouver Young Socialists

The Bennett Government and the administration of Vancouver City College (V.C.C.) have recently shown the students and faculty there what is in store for education in British Columbia. Coming on the heels of the notorious Ontario Wright Report, Bennett's cutting of the V.C.C. budget by \$300,000 or 2.6 percent was indicative that cutbacks in education are being planned all across Canada.

Even more ominous was the fact that V.C.C.'s Principal Gilligan used the cutback to introduce drastic proposals. He gave faculty one week to accept the following: 1. That faculty teach 10 months instead of the present 8 — eliminating the 2 months of each year currently devoted to professional development studies — but without any corresponding pay increase. 2. That a number of faculty hired on a term to term basis be dismissed. These proposals would mean that many teachers would lose their jobs, that teachers would have less time to spend with each student, and a qualitative lowering of the standard of education on the campus.

Student and faculty responses on hearing Gilligan's plans was immediate. At a meeting initiated by the Young Socialists to discuss "Gilligan's Modest Proposal" over 100 students adopted the following 7 points to take to a general student meeting on Monday Feb. 14:

1. The College Council's immediate rejection of the B.C. government's ultimatum.
2. The complete rejection of Gilligan's proposals.
3. No Cutbacks.
4. The reversal of the new admissions policy NOW.
5. Full job security for all full and part time faculty.
6. Full information on all budget proposals and plans for V.C.C.
7. Establishment of a student-faculty parity liaison committee.

Later that same afternoon the faculty met and unanimously rejected Gilligan's proposals and expressed non-confidence in him. The faculty also endorsed a motion of solidarity with the students for responding to what was happening.

At the Monday general meeting over 450 students came to discuss what action to take on the proposals. Despite the incompetent, unserious and biased

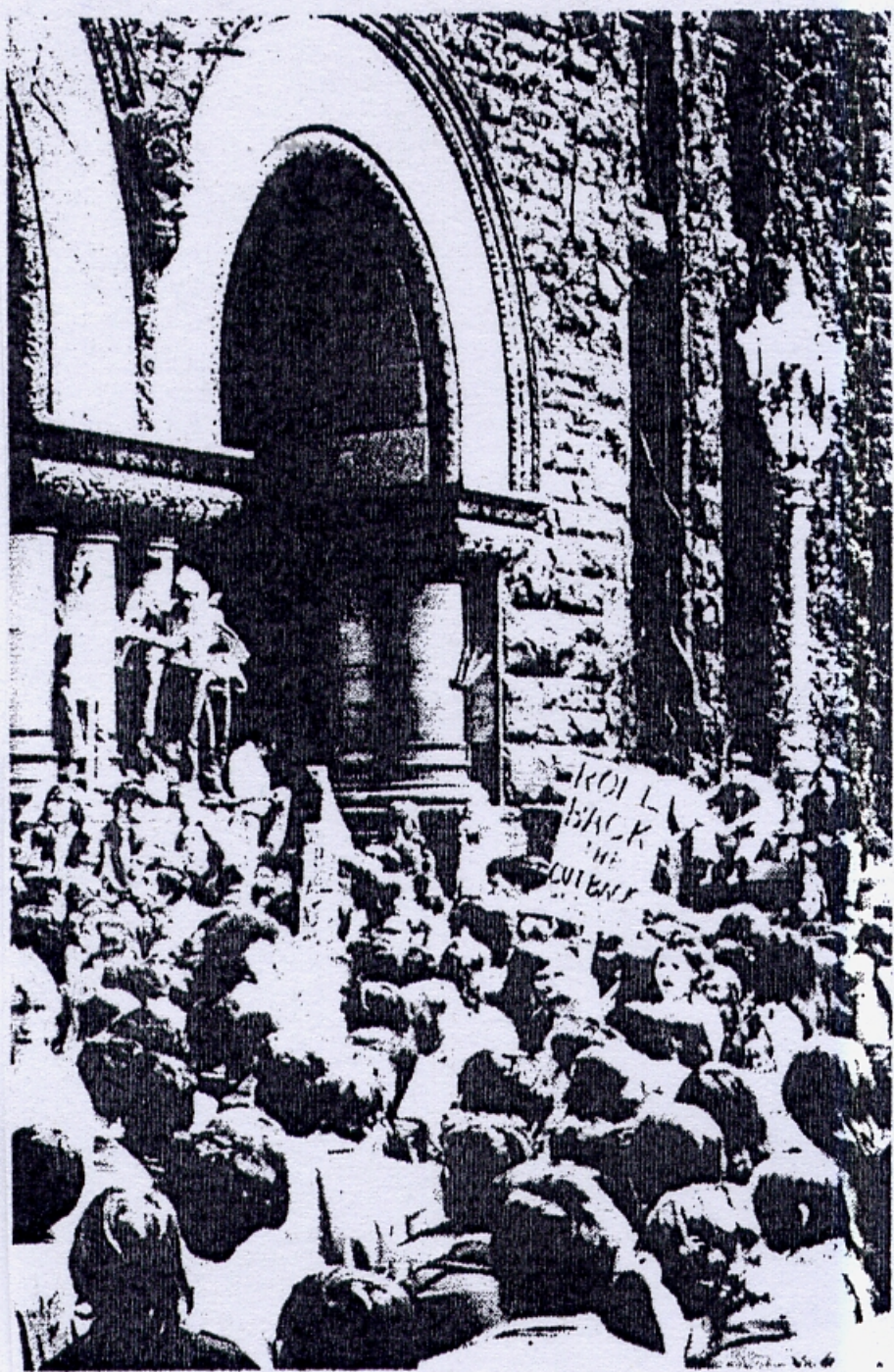
chairing of the meeting by one of the student councillors the majority of students remained to endorse all of the 7 points passed at the Friday meeting except the one calling for no cutbacks.

The meeting then adjourned until the following day. At that meeting the students endorsed a steering committee to lead in implementing the 6 points adopted the previous day. Throughout the development of the struggle against Gilligan's moves it was impossible for serious students not to be appalled by the obstructionist role of the student council. They had not taken any initiative in informing the student about the cutbacks even though they were the first ones to know about them. Even worse they had already ratified an administration policy that would curtail admission to V.C.C.

At a meeting today faculty practically ran principal Gilligan out on a rail when he chided them for over-reacting to his proposals. Faculty agreed to meet again to discuss further action that could be taken against the cutbacks. All the indications are that students and teachers are not going to passively accept government dictates on education.



Toronto Young Socialist



Stop the cutbacks with mass action

by Dennis Lomas

From coast to coast higher tuition, fewer teachers, poorer educational facilities — wholesale cutbacks in education from top to bottom — face students. This is the message of the Wright Report. Our existence as students, wanting a decent education, is being undercut. What are we going to do about it?

Students on a number of campuses have started to fight. In Hamilton, McMaster graduate students went on strike against the Benson tax rip-off. At Vancouver City College students and teachers are attempting to turn back Bennett's arbitrary cutback of the college's budget. McGill students are petitioning against the proposed outlandish tuition fee for foreign students of \$2,500.

Previous years have witnessed

massive demonstrations against cutbacks. Way back in 1968 Regina students fought back a move by the Thatcher Liberal government to withhold loan cheques from students. Last year in the Toronto area after cutbacks were announced, and cafeteria prices jacked up, 5,000 enraged high school students walked out and demonstrated at Queen's Park.

The past and the present methods of fighting point the way to the future. In order to roll back the cutbacks we have to confront the government with our force in mass actions.

The government and administrations can deal with us as individual isolated students. They put us through the red tape and callously push us onto the unemployment rolls. Together as a massive social force we can not be brushed off. Out of the total Ontario population of 7,550,000, according to the Wright Report 1,549,567 are students in all levels of education — all of us are affected by the cutbacks. Considering that radical political consciousness has extended deep into the high schools, as shown by the Amchitka demonstrations, and even in junior high schools, a potentially huge social force against the cutbacks exists.

This force has to be mobilized in a defensive struggle to save the quality and extent of education that we now have. The government has to stop all tuition hikes and education cutbacks. Instead of draining students to pay for the rising costs of education big business, which benefits directly from education, should be taxed.

We can tip the relationship of forces against the government by demonstrating our determination to fight and reach potential supporters and allies in the community with the truth about the cutbacks. Already the Ontario Federation of Labor has called for free tuition to post-secondary education. Workers, especially teachers, have every reason to solidarize with students against the cutbacks. Teachers face increased work loads and unemployment because of them. In factories and offices, workers face cutbacks in production which result in large scale layoffs and plant closures. The govern-

ment has every reason to fear the power of the sentiment against university cutbacks that includes and reaches beyond the student population. Why else was the Wright report clothed in such hypocritical rhetoric?

Our struggle has to be led and controlled by us. To win all students to fight the cutbacks and to take the truth — our most powerful weapon — to the public we must organize independently from the administration. Despite words to the contrary the administration is directly tied to and controlled by big business through the boards of governors. Its view of the "university community" is one subservient to big business; in other words: one where students are willing to accept arbitrary changes like the cutbacks.

By organizing independently we have the ability to initiate broader struggles aiming to extend the struggle in order to win. We can carry teach-ins, debates with the administration, demonstrations and solidarity actions with struggles on other campuses.

We should move to focus our strength and reach out for more support in Ontario by confronting the government at Queen's Park. Students from across Ontario can demonstrate against the cutbacks; all other opponents of the cutbacks can join in; and the labor unions, the NDP and other organizations can address the rally. Our opposition to the government will be concrete, powerful and visible for all to see.

The student unions, elected to represent the interests of students, have the responsibility to get behind the struggle. Full political and organizational support — including use of the student union facilities — should be given to the campaign to end cutbacks. The campus press has a vital role to play in exposing the demogogy of the Wright Report and reporting the struggles already taking place. Both the student unions and the newspapers have a vital contribution to make in initiating and building a province-wide demonstration.

Together, united in action, extending the campaign and demonstrating at the seat of power in Queen's Park we will roll back the cutbacks and throw the Wright Report into the incinerator.

Wright Report quotes

Compare this..

"We have accepted the need for universal accessibility to post-secondary education to all ages as our first principle." - Draft Report, page 13.

"We believe that education must be viewed as a humanizing process that is central to our civilization and to the individual members of our society." - Draft Report, page 11.

... to this

"Shifting the burden of cost to students has many attractions." - Statement of Issues, page 13.

"Basically, the idea is to establish a system of loans that would be available to students and repayable through an income tax supplement... instead of repaying the loan, the student would contract to pay back a fixed percentage of his income per \$1,000 of debt each year for say, 15 years." - Statement of Issues, page 15.

"The loans have to be interest bearing; experience demonstrates that interest free loans can easily be abused and exploited by unscrupulous people..." - Draft Report, page 48.

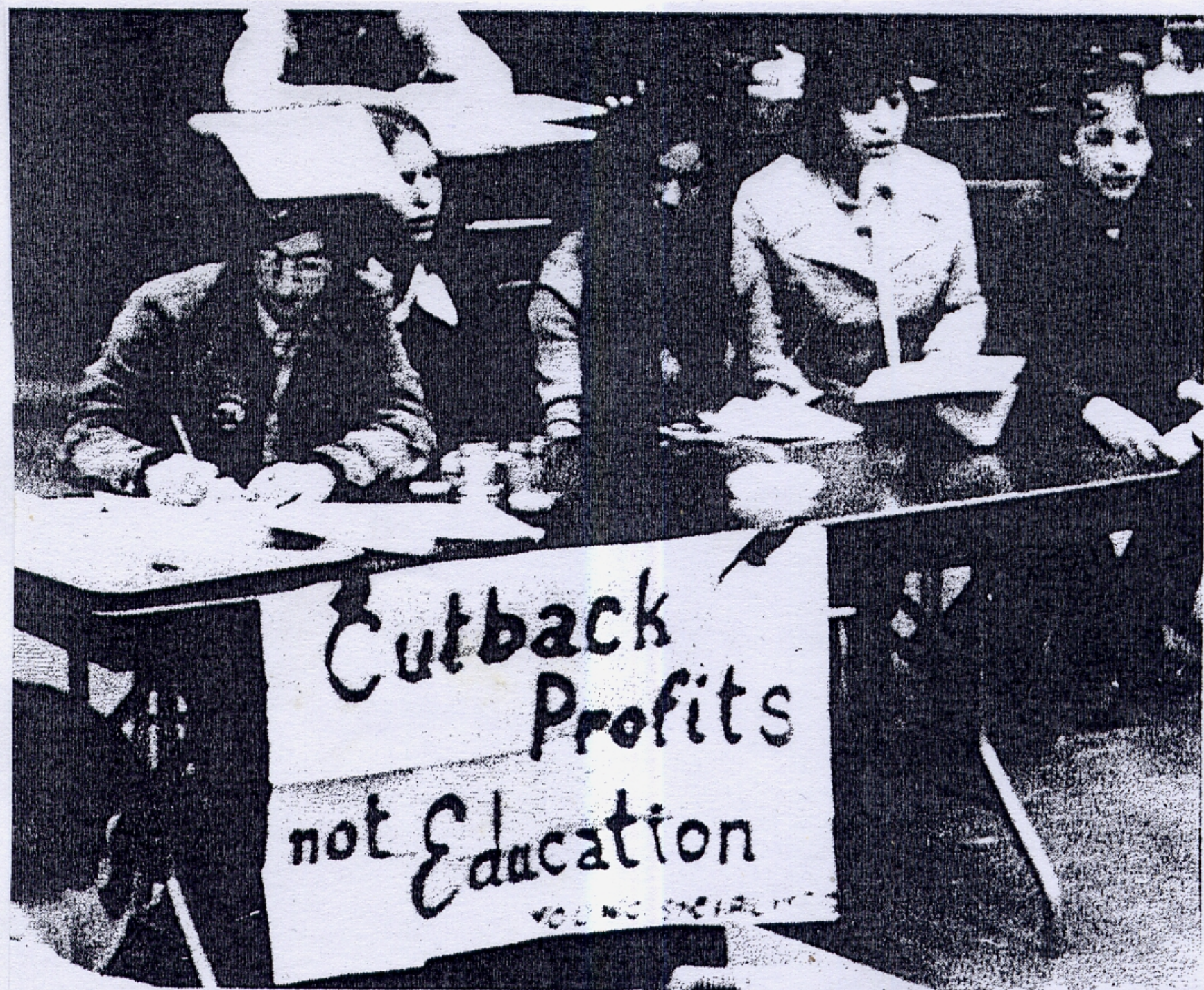
"We are recommending a three year limit on the grant scheme because general post-secondary education and or vocational training can be accomplished largely within this period." - Draft Report, page 47.

"The scheme... would not necessarily increase educational opportunity for children of less privileged groups." - Statement of Issues, page 15.

"We are also aware that we are favouring those who live at home." - Draft Report, page 48.

"It would also tie attendance at post-secondary institutions strictly to financial considerations." - Statement of Issues, page 15.

"The proposal may appear to discriminate against people in poor homes and, to a certain extent, it does." - Draft Report, page 49.



Present brief to Commission on Post Secondary Education.

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Mac students lead the way



Mass decision making at McMaster U. Here over 600 undergraduate students vote overwhelmingly to support the striking graduate students. The meeting also elected an un-

dergraduate coordinating committee and voted to hold an all day teach-in on the Wright Report.

by Don Tapscott

The students at McMaster University in Hamilton have been the first to move against the cutbacks outlined in the Wright Report. And already many important lessons can be drawn from their struggle.

The struggle was initiated when Chemistry graduate students circulated a leaflet entitled "The Benson Rip-off." It explained how the government's new taxation bill is increasing Mac graduate students taxes by \$442 per year (and \$1,200 for post doctoral). Recognizing the tax bill as part of a general assault on them, the grads decided to strike to defend themselves.

A strike negotiating committee was elected and plans were made to extend the strike. A strike headquarters was established; a daily strike bulletin was printed; a demonstration was held outside the administration building; strike information tables were set up around the campus; leaflets were distributed explaining to undergrads why the grads were striking and how the cutbacks affect undergrads.

The response of the administration showed a total disregard for the students' interests. They not only refused to meet any of the grads' demands, but refused to even recognize their negotiating committee. Instead, they tried to circumvent it by holding discussions with the Graduate Students Union. Then Alvin A. Lee, dean of Graduate Studies, came out with a classic statement explaining how there had been a big "misunderstanding" and how the administration was doing its best and had really met most of the students demands already.

Growing support for the strike was registered by a mass undergraduate meeting attended by about 700 students. The meeting discussed how the grads' strike marked the beginning of an overall defense against the government assault. Kathy Beeman, Young Socialist member of the students' council, presented a motion for undergraduate solidarity with the grad strike. After some heated discussion, the motion passed by approximately 90 percent of those present. A coordinating committee was chosen and plans were laid for an all day teach-in on the Wright Report.

Meanwhile most of the members of the Students' Representative Council (SRA) were getting up tight at the fact that things were getting a little out of (their) control. A solid political council may become part of the activist leadership that flows out of any student upsurge.

But not so with the SRA.

The SRA (president Harrison was selected on a nebulous one point program of "Involvement") not only failed to come in behind the struggle

avoided. The only way of dealing with it is to meet it head on.

A well argued motion of censure from the coordinating committee would have been passed overwhelmingly by the

We, the Graduate Students of McMaster, demand that:

1. The University offer a legal contract of employment to Graduate Students and that the Graduate Student Union will be recognized as a bargaining unit.
2. The "take home" pay of all Graduate Students be no less than that before the introduction of the new tax laws.
3. Merit scholarship programs be abolished.*
4. The gross income of no Graduate Student whose duties include both teaching and research be no less than \$3600.
5. No full-time Graduate Student be accepted at this University with a stipend less than \$3600 gross.
6. The University come out with a definite commitment to support the Graduate Students' Union, the Faculty Association, McMaster Student Union and the Bargaining Unit as they present their views to the Wright Commission.

Since no satisfactory action has been forthcoming all Graduate Students withdraw completely from their teaching and related duties and endeavor to bring all classes to a stop.

* Scholarships given to grads on the basis of grades.

with its funds and resources, but with the advice of the administration attempted to dampen and put the struggle down. Nearly every member of the SRA refused to participate on the coordinating committee; they attempted to disrupt the Wright Report teach-in; they red baited the leadership and generally behaved like scared student bureaucrats are wont to do.

And if the SRA played a bad role, the role of the campus paper, The Silhouette, was despicable. Instead of publishing a strike paper that could mobilize student support and extend the struggle, the Silhouette's right wing editors attempted to distort and derail the struggle by blatantly slandering it and the students at Mac on the morning of the teach-in. They contemptuously referred to the mass meeting of 700 as "... an appalling display of mass ignorance." Students fighting for control over their university are depicted as dupes, controlled by "a hard core of Young Socialists (not all of them students) Maoists, and anti-establishment leftists ..." To the Silhouette the struggle was "hysteria", "irrationality", and "degenerate."

While members of the undergraduate coordinating committee were furious with the Silhouette editors, they showed an unfortunate weakness by abdicating their responsibility to take on the attack. Red-baiting is a standard ploy used by those who want to discredit, divide and put a struggle down. It cannot be

students at the Wright Report teach-in. The editors could have been forced by a mass campaign to reprint a reply and better still use the paper to build rather than put down the struggle.

Despite the SRA and the Silhouette the teach-in on the Wright Report was still a success. A total of over 1,000 (400 at one time) listened to and debated an impressive list of speakers, including Phyllis Grosskurth who resigned from the Committee on University Affairs, Richard Thompson editor of Young Socialist and two members of the Wright Commission.

However because of a slowness in expanding the strike to full effectiveness in all departments, the grads were already losing confidence in their ability to force the administration to concede. During the teach-in they held a general meeting and decided to end the strike. This was unfortunate not only for the graduates' cause, but because it pulled the rug from under the undergraduate movement.

A cool administration adopted a divide and rule strategy that enabled them to temporarily put the struggle down. They divided the graduates by playing the Graduate Students Union off against the graduates Negotiating Committee. And they succeeded in getting members of the SRA and the Silhouette to work against the struggle.

But a deft administration, a bankrupt students council and a right-wing campus paper can't snuff a student upsurge if the conditions are right — if there is a powerful mass sentiment and an experienced political leadership. At Mac the sentiment was there and still is, but the leadership was lacking.

It is essential to have a leadership that can organize effectively to expand the struggle; that carefully assesses where the struggle should go and then organizes to win students to that perspective; that is prepared to meet attacks on the movement head on; that organizes to spread the struggle to other campuses and to win support from the working people of the community by explaining what the students are fighting for with leaflets, press conferences or perhaps a special edition of the campus paper.

The activists on the undergraduate coordinating committee are now coming to grips with this fact. And by realizing that the key problem was the weakness of their leadership, they are in much better shape for the next round.

Despite the initial defeat, the struggle is far from over at Mac. A teach-in designed to involve the entire campus for a two day period has been called by the graduate students. And preparations are being made to call an Ontario-wide student demonstration against the Wright Report at Queen's Park in Toronto.

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it's only the beginning...

Just two months ago the Provincial Government released the Wright Report with it's plan for massive cutbacks in post-secondary education. Around the same time they announced that millions of dollars was being cut from high school budgets and that several hundred teachers would be fired in Toronto.

Yet within this short period of time students and teachers alike have responded as never before with teachins, mass meetings and demonstrations. Today we have joined together from across this province to protest with one united voice: STOP THE CUTBACKS!

We are the students who struck at McMaster for a guaranteed income for grad students; we are the ones who fought for open access to the library stacks at U. of T.; we are the ones who demanded that Ryerson accredit our degrees; and we are the ones who are in the midst of a massive struggle to repeal the undemocratic University of Waterloo Act. Together with others like us from across Ontario we are here to confront the government that is responsible for the erosion and destruction of our education. This demonstration brings together students and teachers from all these struggles around the thing that affects us all -- the cutbacks.

But this demonstration is only the beginning. It is the beginning of building a powerful, united student movement that can ally with teachers in a common strategy to change the educational system.

In the past few weeks the press has carried almost daily editorials slandering and maligning students for our actions. In the name of the taxpayer they warn us to be silent. But they do not defend the taxpayer when Davis gives away millions each year in forgiveable loans to American corporations and they do not cry out against the salaries of the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Chancellors and trustees. Their real intent is to protect the interests of big business and maintain big business control of education.

The press is uptight because our actions are challenging that control. We are challenging the view that education is an assembly line for the production of skilled workers, researchers and teachers inculcated with the "proper" norms and values of this society. We are challenging their right to deem education as obsolete and "wasteful" because of the mass unemployment they have created. We refuse to be silent.

Our struggle is directed to turning this educational system upside down to meet the needs of people instead of profit. The

(over)

schools, college and universities must be centres for achieving full human creativity. They must be centres for teaching, researching and solving the problems of this society -- a base for social change. They must be run by the majority -- students and staff -- in the interests of the majority.

What we need is a socialist society which can meet the needs of the majority instead of profiting only a tiny minority.

The student movement is an important part of the struggle for socialism. Together with the struggles of women, Quebecois and working people the student movement is a powerful force in fighting to change the world. Socialism is the victory of all our struggles for self-determination and liberation.

That is what the Young Socialists are fighting for. YS produced and distributed over 20,000 copies of The Wright Report and You which called for this demonstration and Young Socialist student councillors have been instrumental in building it.

YS is building a revolutionary student movement in 18 centres in Canada. If you're against the cutbacks and want to fight more effectively against them and if you're for socialism and want to do something about it join us.

SOCIALIST CLASSES

EVERY SUNDAY -- 7:30 P.M. -- 334 QUEEN ST. W. TORONTO

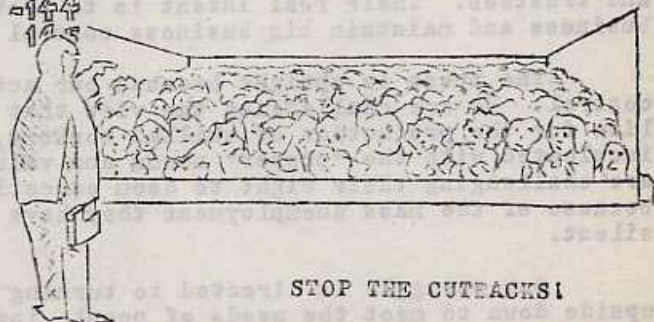
Starting April 2nd four classes on THE ROLE OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

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-142
-143
-144
145



STOP THE CUTBACKS!



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